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# Near East/South Asia Report

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30 November 1983

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No. 2857

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## ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

ARMENIAN DIOCESE STATEMENT--During a press conference, Archbishop Ardak Manoukian, leader of the Armenian diocese in Tehran, noted the role of the Iranian-Armenians in the imposed war and said: When the military transgressions of the Iraqi regime began, in accordance with their responsibility and in order to defend the integrity of the country, the Armenian brothers went to the battlefields and they have given many victims for the Islamic Revolution. He affirmed that the Iranian-Armenians are inseparable elements of the Iranian people and added that in addition to the notable non-cash aid of the Armenian compatriots, 10 million riyals cash has also been allocated for the war imposed by the Iraqi regime on the Islamic Revolution. [Text] [GF071714 Tabriz Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 6 Nov 83]

CSO: 4605/19

## EGYPTIANS SAID TO BE INCREASINGLY INDIFFERENT

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 14 Aug 83 p 3

/Article: "Why Has the Egyptian Citizen's Conduct Changed and Become Indifferent? Mubarak Calls Egyptians to Allegiance and Revival of the Spirit of Belonging to the Nation"

/Text/ In his recent address before the Nationalist Party youth, President Husni Mubarak demanded a re-evaluation of the personal behavior of the Egyptian citizen, and urged everyone to be loyal to the nation and to reinforce the sense of belonging to it. The Egyptian president says:

"Allegiance is not merely an upheld slogan or a repeated catch phrase. It is rather a dynamic and living entity that has to be adapted to the day-to-day realities of individuals and groups. It also imposes itself on events through acts and conduct seen by the people. Allegiance is thus a continuing conduct, and an integrated pattern for the relationship between the individual and the nation; a mental and spiritual commitment; and it is principles and personal testimony. To express allegiance, each one of us--whatever his position is--must place national interests above personal interests, perceive public issues objectively, and measure his behavior by the benefits realized for the society and the harm pushed away. /The criterion/ is not the personal gains reaped and the abilities and authority achieved, because all these considerations are dwarfed by the public interest. The time has come for each of us to realize that we all live in the same trench and that we either take confident and reassured steps toward victory, or waste what past generations have left us. A person must look at what he can offer and give before he asks to receive /benefits/ because the state can give only in proportion to what its sons produce in terms of goods and services."

An observer of the actions and reactions of the Egyptian citizens toward the events which confront them clearly sees that the Egyptian president did not exaggerate when he asked /the Egyptians/ to be loyal to the nation and /emphasized/ the importance of reviewing individual behavior. In daily dealings among Egyptians nowadays, indifference clearly appears. The "it is none of my concern" slogan has spread, an expression of complete passivity toward events confronting everyone. Other expressions and connotations have also spread in the face of the necessities of life and the new circumstances resulting from changing social and economic relations, all of which are alien to the traditions and customs once dominant in Egypt.



Indifference: How Did It Emerge?

But why did this new conduct emerge? Where did this "indifference" come from? What is the course of treatment and a return once more to the behavioral patterns of Egyptian society common all through its past years?!

Back to the basic question: Why did this new conduct emerge?

The answer comes in the first place from Dr Ahmad Fu'ad, a researcher at the social research institute. He says that the 1970's were the headpoint of the change that occurred in our Egyptian values as a result of the political, social and economic changes that took place during that period.

How?

Dr Ahmad Fu'ad says that by comparing the situation during the 1960's with its counterpart in the 1970's, we find that the 1960's witnessed a revolutionary nationalist phase heading toward self-reliance. Work was a right, a duty and a necessity. Value was thus attached to work and education; and alliance was made with such working groups as workers and farmers, a class representing the majority of the Egyptian society.

In the 1970's, transformation took place: economic liberalization, higher consumption, lower productivity, and even removal from anything local /products/ and aspiration toward possessing everything imported, whether a culture or a commodity. All this caused violent upheavals in the structure of the social values.

The researcher adds something else causing the emergence of this new conduct: As the result of the scarcity of rewarding work that helps the citizen solve individual problems, each /citizen/ thought of a special way to solve his problems. That is why immigration took place. The state encouraged this /trend/ because, on one hand, it increases vacant job opportunities in Egypt for the rest of its sons. On the other hand--and that is more important--it provides the state with a rich source of foreign currency. Thus a new class--a class of parasitic bourgeoisie--developed inside Egypt and emerged as a result of the consumption open door.

This or that class resorted to consumption practices foreign to Egyptian society. These characteristics thus started to spread and everyone wanted to imitate them and be guided by them.

The natural result of Egyptian immigration abroad is the loss of allegiance to the country because such allegiance is not something in the abstract, but rather takes the form of duties and rights. Since the relationship between the citizen and the country has been lost, allegiance, consequently, is lost.

The Country Does Not Respond to Demands

Dr Abd al-Basit 'Abd-al-Mu'ti, professor of sociology in 'Ayn Shams /University/ agrees with the above mentioned view when he says that since the country neither

responds to needs, nor solves problems, but provokes the deprived classes by displaying imported commodities and consumer materials, the relationship between the citizen and the country suffers a crack, or is covered with something similar to the dust concealing a precious metal. Thus, the relationship languishes or ceases. As a result of the disrupted relationship between work and education, on one hand, and social transformation, /on the other hand/, some people resorted to easy solutions to achieve this transformation--a factor that deepened the bribe phenomenon and the consideration that the easy coming material reward is the end, regardless of the means. It is not important here is the means would be selling dog food to humans, selling flesh, trafficking in drugs, or cheating on construction material. All these have been introduced by the open door /policy/ and the influential class which is considered the ideal and the pattern to be followed by the youth. We cannot deny the role of the media in recommending the value of opportunism and individualism, and showing serial dramas (soap operas) without nationalist content. From where would allegiance then come?

#### Positive Values Are in a "Dormant" State

Dr Sayyid 'Uways, an expert at the social research institute, says that it has been observed that the cultural, social, economic and political circumstances through which Egyptian society has passed or is still passing keep positive values in a "dormant" state so that negative values emerge. Under other circumstances, positive values appear.

The clear example of this /situation/ is the October 1973 war which depicted the positive nature of Egyptian values as Egyptian society was ready to sacrifice and to give. Egyptian society is thus in no need of new values with which to reinforce its members. Negative values are present, and so are positive ones. But cultural, social, economic and political circumstances may bring up the former and place the latter in a dormant state, and vice versa.

Dr Sayyid 'Uways adds that if we talk about our present reality, we may frankly state that positive values are dormant for two reasons:

The first is the serious disorder in planting feelings of allegiance. To overcome this /disorder/ is to provide the circumstances /for allegiance/ by providing the Egyptian people with the opportunities for freedom and sound democracy.

The second is the presence of duplicity in the Egyptian society, meaning that not everything preached is practiced.

He continues that the individual in Egypt has become a different person under the economic liberalization policy because that liberalization pushed him toward consumption not production. Seeking imported consumption goods has become a sign of eliteness, prestige and marked social status, to the extent that the individual himself has become a commodity chasing commodity.

#### "Smartness" and Allegiance to the Nation

For the fourth time we pose the question: why the lack of allegiance to the country? Why has the new conduct that the Egyptian president asked to change emerged?

The answer comes from Dr Sa'd-al-Din Ibrahim, social science professor at the American University in Cairo. He says that the 1970's captured and promoted some value that actually existed, like the "smart" who seeks fast profits and eliminates from his calculations all the deep-rooted values in order to dramatize the values of plunder and hypocrisy until he achieves his goals in the shortest way and least time possible.

During the 1970's, the values of generosity, bravery, honesty and productivity disappeared. Re-emerging were the values that had disappeared in the 1950's and 1960's, like the "foreigner complex," the glorification of everything foreign and contempt for everything produced or processed locally to the extent that the late President Anwar al-Sadat used to ridicule the slogan stating the "making of everything locally, from the needle to the rocket," confirming the feeling of inferiority and the "foreigner complex." Naturally, this attitude seeped to the ruling elite, helped in the destruction of the Egyptian personality and trained it to lie in principle. Marketed were slogans destructive in essence and glowing in appearance--slogans that were regrettably circulated by the youth who represent the majority of society.

#### The Egyptian Personality Is Sound

Ahmad Bahjat, the well-known political writer and deputy editor-in-chief of AL-AHRAM, has his own view on the changing public conduct. Ahmad Bahjat says that public conduct is related to the national character, being its tool of expression, positively or negatively. The national character is the totality of the common characteristics formed by the set of developmental, social, psychological and economic factors.

Among Egyptian traits, for example, was the adherence to the land and association with it. Throughout history, Egypt was an area of attraction for the world population. But changing economic circumstances made the land reject man. Thus, some Egyptians began to think of immigration.

Also among the Egyptian traits was the belief in balance and moderation and a repulsion for violence. But the pressure of the circumstances under which some Egyptian sectors live led to the growth of some kind of tendency toward violence and extremism. It is known that the characteristics of the national identity are formed in an accumulative fashion and not through changes because sudden changes lead to confusing the personality, and, therefore, increasing the percentage of the negative aspects. Sudden changes occurred to the Egyptian personality as a result of the experimentation with more than one economic system, each of which has its own philosophy which was not realized. All of this, in addition to other factors, led to the development of unusual behavioral patterns. They are negative patterns of behavior. These negative patterns succeeded in increasing the confusion of the Egyptians and hampering their march.

Writer Ahmad Bahjat wonders, "With this all acknowledged, a vital question remains: Have the negative aspects of the Egyptian personality become today a part of the texture of this personality? Have they been integrated in its organic formation, or are they just a temporary trait that has its sudden causes and can be remedied quickly?"

He replies, "In my view, the Egyptian personality has not been damaged inside. We are just before a damage in the outside crust--a damage that can be treated easily."

Allegiance: How Can It Be For the Country Alone?

But, if these are the causes, what is the solution? How can we set matters aright again? How will allegiance to the country first and before anything else occur?

Dr Sa'd-al-Din Ibrahim believes that the solution is that the symbols of authority become the ideal, whether in society, in institutions, or in the media. They are obliged to reflect values of productivity, virtue, honesty and purity. This alone is not enough. It must be accompanied by reorganizing the economic and social structure and the laws that regulate it so that the values of luxury consumption and illegitimate aspirations shrink and social opportunities are linked to efficiency and ability. This is the first step toward creating a sense of belonging to the country and loyalty to it.

Dr 'Ali Husayn, an expert at Dr Ahmad Fu'ad center, believes that only an example is capable of changing the behavior of the Egyptian citizen. Seeing his leadership in the 1960's taking pride in wearing nationally produced things and boasting of the services it renders to the nation before asking for its rights, the Egyptian at that time was doing the same. He was ready to pay his life and possessions for the sake of the country.

In the 1970's, and when the leadership boasted of wearing everything foreign, when it boasted of outside appearance regardless of the essence, and when it began to behave on the basis of attention only to personal interests regardless of the damages that might harm the country, then the ordinary Egyptian citizen began to imitate it and replicate its deeds.

This does not mean to say that the Egyptian citizen imitates everything he sees. What I meant is the self-feeling. If I live in a society where everyone serves the public interest and forgets temporarily his personal problems and individual dreams, then I will be like them, and vice versa. Consequently, I reiterate once more that leadership--and only leadership--can restore to the Egyptian individual the feeling of allegiance and belonging to the nation, Egypt.

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CSO: 4504/571

UMMAH PARTY LEADER CALLS FOR ELECTIONS, RETURN OF SHARI'AH

Al-Sabahi Interviewed

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 15 Aug 83 p 8

[Interview by Jawda 'Abd al-Jawad with Ahmad al-Sabahi, founder of the Ummah Party: "'I Am Searching for Someone to Head the Party Other Than Myself; We Will Enter All Elections No Matter What System Is Used'"; date and place not specified]

[Text] We are holding this interview with Ahmad al-Sabahi, founder of the Ummah Party, which has burst upon the political scene, hoping to build a bridge to the new party, deal with it fairly and through our newspaper give him the opportunity to talk about himself or about his ideas and platform. Without a party newspaper, he is taking his first steps toward the public. We are not planning to agree or disagree with his platform! Whatever the appropriateness or value of what Ahmad al-Sabahi says or the likelihood of its being realized in today's world, we welcome him. We also welcome any addition to our political life because it will give us and the people a real choice.

There were obvious signals in what Ahmad al-Sabahi said to AL-AHRAR, some green, some red and some of a yet undetermined color.

The first important signal was that this new party emphasizes a clear Islamic direction, and al-Sabahi's affirming that his party is political rather than religious did not refute this. The second obvious signal was that this party's platform, its adherents and their policies will be an outlet for the many with religious, independent and divergent views. It will be their legal means and their golden opportunity to come out from underground with the protection of the constitution and the law. This is especially true in today's political world in the wake of the grave announcement limiting elections for the Chamber of Deputies and People's Assembly to party rosters. For them, the new party has become the only hope!

Despite the significance of this interview, two thing drew our attention:

1. This party would not have come into existence were it not for a disagreement between Ibrahim Shukri and al-Sabahi when the latter was a

member of the Labor Party. Shukri had refused to agree to al-Sabahi's being a Labor candidate from al-Sayyida Zaynab district, where he had lived all his life, preferring a rich merchant over him! This heated dispute provoked al-Sabahi, prompting him to break with the Labor Party and to try to establish his own party, which he succeeded in doing. With the High Administrative Court's ruling, this came to be at sword point. As for al-Sayyida Zaynab district, where they parted ways, al-Sabahi ran as an independent against the Labor candidate. However, both lost, and the National Party candidate, former Minister of Supply Ahmad Nuh, won!

2. Al-Sabahi, secretary general of the Ummah Party, might not appear as he does had fate not guided him (according to his own account) to form himself in the image in which he is seen today. Al-Sabahi belonged to more than one extremist communist organization, and he was at one time the founder of a secret socialist party! Then, finally, he turned against these parties and against himself when he became a prominent member of both secret and open religious organizations. He went to such an extreme in renouncing his former views that he called himself "the new Khomeyni," emulating Khomeyni's behavior and leadership! However, he says that he stopped using the name when he saw that people were put off by it and by the images of violence and bloodshed associated with it!

One interesting, revealing point in what al-Sabahi said is that he is still looking for a party chairman since Shaykh Muhammad Mutawalli al-Sha'rawi, who had his reasons, refused to take the position!

Al-Sabahi affirms that his new party will enter all elections, to the Chamber of Deputies and People's Assembly, in any district where they can set up headquarters. He welcomes members at the current temporary headquarters at the home of its secretary general, Ahmad al-Sabahi, at 5 Zayn al-'Abdin Square, Al-Sayyida Zaynab.

Now let's have AL-AHRAR correspondent Jawda 'Abd al-Jawad's interview with al-Sabahi. National issues were not dealt with since the interview was merely a way of getting to know a figure who has many facets suitable for dialogue and discussion in future interviews!

Power Comes to Us!

[Question] To begin with, how would you classify your party, where would you place it among opposition political parties in Egypt? Is it rightist, leftist or does it have a new coloring?

[Answer] We aren't like the opposition parties. They are all demanding power, while we don't demand or seek power, power comes to us!

Our party isn't rightist, leftist or centrist. We have nothing to do with these formal classifications, nor can our party be described as progressive or reactionary, rather it is divine. Everything comes from Islamic Shari'ah, God's book and His Messenger's Sunnah. God's Messenger, God bless and grant him salvation, said, "Nothing will set this nation right but that which showed

their ancestors the right way--God's book and my teachings." Today, by all standards, the Islamic Shari'ah has become the only way, the definitive, sure treatment for all Egypt's problems!

#### Seven Demands of Mubarak

[Question] This demand is found in the platforms of all the political parties and all have stressed it. However, actually putting it into practice remains a matter of study and implementation. Do you have specific ways to do so?

[Answer] President Mubarak is really the one responsible for carrying out the provisions of the Islamic Shari'ah since he is head of the government, and we demand that he do so. The day after the High Administrative Court's ruling establishing the party, we sent a letter to him saying that President al-Sadat had honored the constitution by stipulating in it that its primary source was Islamic Shari'ah and that we would like him to honor his own regime by enforcing the provisions of the Shari'ah.

In order to be practical, we proposed that the president implement seven urgent demands as a way of accustoming the society to following the provisions of the Shari'ah in preparation for enforcing all its principles and regulations so that Egypt will become an Islamic state. We defined these demands as follows:

Closing all places that have forbidden entertainment and all dancing and gambling spots, including al-Haram Street. Prohibiting the drinking, manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages everywhere in Egypt, without exception.

Banning all licentious movies and programs that arouse sexual feelings, as well as prohibiting publication of all degenerate books, stories and articles.

Flogging dishonest merchants, workers and professionals, who make life difficult for the people, rob them of their strength and oppress them in the public square. They would thereby be punished according to God's laws.

Prohibiting unveiled women from working in the government and the public and private sectors and barring showy women from public streets.

Imprisoning, flogging and expelling drug dealers.

Stopping government work when the call to prayer is heard.

Stopping the celebration of saints' birthdays because they are heresy and fantasy and do not honor Islam.

We told President Mubarak that everyone would accept these changes from him, that no one would refuse.

[Question] Isn't it strange for one political party to ask the head of another party, even the president of the country, to implement its goals for it!? The whole idea behind the existence of parties is that they seek power



in order to carry out their platforms. You proclaim the opposite, demanding that the president achieve your goals for you!

[Answer] Naturally we too are seeking power. All the parties are competing for the people's trust to obtain power and then implement their platforms. However, we in the Ummah Party have a long road ahead. We came into existence only a few days ago, and it will be a long time before we come to power. Therefore, in order to save time, we have turned to the president to achieve our goals...and his goals as well.

**We Are Not a Religious Party!**

[Question] Considered from this aspect, the Ummah Party is an Islamic Party. Do you see it closing the circle and its principles' complementing the other political parties and policies?

[Answer] The Ummah Party is not a religious party; if it were, we would not exist. The law on political parties prohibits establishment of religious or regional parties, and therefore ours is not a religious party. It is a political party demanding that the inoperative part of the constitution--enforcing Islamic Shari'ah, the primary source of legislation--be brought to bear in order to make right the condition of the country and deal with all our problems.

[Question] What is the difference between a religious party and a political party in your opinion?

[Answer] A religious party deals with ideology and a political party deals with a system. For example, adherents of the Sunnah are an ideological group which excludes non-Moslems, just as an association of Copts is ideological. A political party such as the Ummah demands that the Shari'ah be adopted as a broad political social and economic system, not as an ideology!

[Question] Many observers have said that the importance and significance of the Ummah Party lie in the fact that it gives access to the independents and the clergy, a force to be reckoned with, who can join the party and have a legitimate, effective, direct effect on political currents in Egypt. However, what happened came as a surprise. The founding group of the party met a few days ago with a very limited membership and no popular response. Why?

[Answer] The law on political parties clearly states that a party may be formed with the endorsement of 50 citizens, at least half of whom must be workers or farmers. I contacted people until we had 65, but the political parties committee refused to approve establishment of the party even though all conditions had been met. Since that date, February 1980, membership has been frozen. No one joined the party until the High Administrative Court issued its decision on 25 June 1983, and it became the right of any citizen to apply for membership. However, following other events within the party itself, including election of the office committee, no one has joined the party...but they are waiting to!



Al-Sha'rawi Is for All!

[Question] We have heard that Shaykh al-Sha'rawi has refused to be head of the party.

[Answer] Yes, he did turn down the party chairmanship. We went to him and offered it to him, but he decline, saying that he is an Islamic spokesman for all and that his presence in a specific party would keep him from the others. He wants to help and guide all. For this reason, I am now thinking about Hasan 'Abbas Zaki, deputy prime minister and former minister of economy, to lead the party because he is a distinguished, pious Sufi. His reputation as a pious man is challenged by no one. Besides, he is a fresh new face on the political scene!

[Question] Why don't you nominate yourself to head the party you founded?

[Answer] I really don't want to nominate myself for any position. I had wanted to be a guardian or protector of the party; it's enough for me to have founded it. That's why I took the name "Khomeyni," or "the protector," but I dropped the name when I found that everyone was bothered by it!

Khomeyni Is the Greatest Leader

[Question] Do you see yourself as being that close of Khomeyni? What ideological and behavioral implications does this name have?

[Answer] No, no...the people misunderstood me. There is an essential difference between Khomeyni and us. He applies the Shi'ite version of the provisions of the Islamic Shari'ah and declares that he will wage war on Arab countries which do not apply the Shari'ah his way. We apply, or are trying to apply, the Shari'ah according to Sunni doctrine. On this point we oppose him. But we sincerely believe him to be the greatest leader in the world because he was behind the greatest bloodless Islamic revolution. Even though Anwar al-Sadat hated and feared Khomeyni and had the news media disparage him before the people, one cannot hide one's admiration of him. Naturally, I do not defend the slaughter we hear about nor the reported rivers of blood. However, these reports may be believed or not, because they are all unofficial reports carried and vouched for by the news agencies!

I Will Enter the Elections!

[Question] Now that the elections have been organized on the basis of party rosters, what will be your position and that of your party? Will this achieve your goals?

[Answer] Listen...I want to say that our party is the party of the future. All people seek us because we are not a party of authority. We were not established by resolution, but by the court's ruling because we have a right to go public and express our society's feelings. I will enter the elections and voice my opinions at all levels--Chamber of Deputies, People's Assembly and local--no matter what system is used to hold the elections. I will enter

in every district where we can establish bases and headquarters. I may win or lose one or two seats since we are just beginning, but by participating, we hope to achieve something positive!

[Question] How do you see relations between your party and the other parties? Do you think the idea of a minority party coalition would be acceptable in this atmosphere?

[Answer] The broad policies of all the parties strive for fundamental principles such as democracy, freedom and the rule of law. Of course we are also calling for these principles. However, before the law rules it must be just, for an unconstitutional law has no supremacy, an emergency law used against the welfare of the people has no supremacy. All the parties agree on combatting corruption, falsification of documents, the use of influence and patronage. However, I think that it would be difficult for them to form a coalition in Egypt. It is true that a coalition has worked in Israel, but this is because Israel is a true democracy. There are 4 million people and 11 political parties, and 98 percent of the Israeli people take part in political life. In Egypt, only 2 percent participate, while 98 percent are silent, spending their time searching for a scrap of bread!

Who Are You?

[Question] Who are you?

[Answer] I am a capable man. God has made my way easy and used me to establish the Ummah Party after President al-Sadat call to establish platforms. I found everything made easy for me and by the grace of God, may he be praised, I fought and with God's help, the court decided that the party should be established without my borrowing a single millieme, since the effort cost me only 6,000 pounds. Now I am living on my pension. My income is 80 pounds. When I started working I was head of the scout camp in Hulwan in 1943, then secretary at the sports education institute in charge of supplies. I got a good conduct certificate and began to work as a sports instructor until I received a diploma from al-Azhar in 1953. I was employed on this basis until I became an inspector in the Ministry of Culture and Education.

From Communism to Islam!

[Question] What about your political history?

[Answer] I was originally educated at al-Azhar. When I was at al-Zaqaziq Institute I started a newspaper named AL-KARAMAH, and I believe that the Ummah Party was a result of this paper. The idea of the newspaper came to me from reading ancient Egyptian history, where I found that authority rested solely with the priests and clergy. I got the idea of having the newspaper call for restoration of authority to the clergy because at that time the political parties were running the country in a rotten way. The paper was established, and Dr Ahmad Shalabi worked with me. However, Shaykh Mutawalli al-Sha'rawi, Muhammad Fahmi 'Abd al-Latif and Tahir Abu Fasha refused to join us and fought the newspaper. After that, I worked in the press with 'Abbas

Halim on the newspaper AL-LISAN in 1938 and joined secret socialist organizations and parties (Husni al-'Arabi and 'Isam al-Din Hafni's party).

Then I established a secret political party by myself named the "Democratic Socialist Party." I went from one phase to another until I returned to the realm of faith, but I have never been a communist because I oppose godlessness. I did believe in socialism as a concept and as an economic expedient. After the revolution of 23 July 1952, my political activity stopped until 1977, when President al-Sadat gave permission to establish platforms for political parties.

"Dispute with Ibrahim Shukri"

[Question] I have learned that you were a founding member of the Labor Party. Why did you leave it?

[Answer] I joined the Labor Party after the political parties committee rejected the establishment of the Ummah Party in 1978, and I remained a member until the elections of 1979 when I asked Ibrahim Shukri to choose me as the party's candidate from al-Sayyida Zaynab, where I was party secretary. I was surprised when he refused to nominate me, preferring a rich merchant who made contributions to the party. That's when I submitted my resignation. I felt that this showed disregard for my hard work with him. I ran as an independent, but came out of the contest with only 1,000 votes. National Party candidate Ahmad Nuh, former minister of supply, won. After this, the Ummah Party resumed its progress in earnest until God granted me success. I am asking the people to finance, rally around and help this party. We don't believe in revolution because power comes only by God's will.

[Question] What should people do if they want to join you?

[Answer] The party platform and membership forms have been printed. Membership was opened up on Friday, 8 July. I have made my home into temporary party headquarters at 5 Jayn al-'Abdin in al-Sayyida Zaynab. We have asked Dr Subhi 'Abd al-Hakim, chairman of the High Press Committee, to permit us to publish a weekly newspaper named JARIDAY AL-UMMAH so that we can carry out our activities and let the people know our platform and activities. We hope to receive his reply soon, and we thank AL-AHRAR for giving us this opportunity in its pages.

Al-Sabahi Denounced

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 14 Aug 83 p 8

[Article by 'Abd al-Wahhab Mursi: "For These Reasons...I Submit My Resignation from the Ummah Party!"]

[Text] People in Egypt are still talking about the decision by the High Administrative Court of the State Council to reject counselor Mumtaz Nassar's petition to form the National Front Party for several reasons, most importantly because the party's platform did not include approval of the Camp David

accords. This, at the same time that the court approved establishment of a new party called the "Ummah Party," founded by Ahmad al-Sabahi, who is known primarily for reading coffee cups and interpreting dreams.

Al-Sabahi also invented a new game called "rocket ball" and formed a sports federation for the game, headed by Sayyid Zaki, deputy speaker of the People's Assembly. This federation receives 10,000 pounds annually from the Higher Council for Youth and Sports Affairs on the pretext of encouraging and spreading the game among young people. Meanwhile, no one has ever heard of the game nor of a single team in all of Egypt that plays "rocket ball"!!

I first got to know Ahmad al-Sabahi when he began to come to the journalists' offices at AKHBAR AL-YAQM to interpret their dreams and prove to them his extraordinary ability to read palms and tell fortunes by reading their coffee cups. One of those who regularly told him their dreams for interpretation was Hamid Zaydan, editor of AL-SHA'B, when he was a correspondent for AL-AKHBAR at the Ministry of Labor.

I later ran into al-Sabahi on a Cairo street. I was surprised when he told me that he was going to establish a new party called the "Ummah Party," based on a call to enforce the principles of Islamic Sahri'ah in Egypt. I replied that the idea itself was unobjectionable, but that to succeed it would have to be disassociated from interpreting dreams and reading coffee cups.

We met again after that, always in the office of Dr Hilmi 'Abd al-Shafi, a candidate for party chairman, or in the office of lawyer 'Ala al-Din Salih. In these meetings, we learned dangerous aspects of Ahmad al-Sabahi's personality. He removed Dr Hilmi 'Abd al-Shafi as chairman of the party and removed four other members for criticizing him and challenging his ideas.

The result was that the meetings stopped. The meetings stopped, but al-Sabahi didn't. He went on alone. He was determined to form a political party when someone told him that the government was paying large annual stipends to opposition parties to finance their activities. He had found an opportunity to obtain funding like that the Higher Council for Youth and Sports is paying for "rocket ball"!

But who are the founding members of this party?

They are his sons and their wives, his daughters and their husbands...and he has a lot of sons and daughters.

When he found out that the members of his family although numerous, were not enough to form the party, he went to his village in Minya al-Qamh and got the signatures of many of the workers and farmers on applications to join the party as founding members, in exchange for 2 to 5 pounds per member depending on his circumstances. He also promised to pay them monthly salaries out of his own pocket as long as they did not oppose any decision he might make in their name or in the name of the party. Ahmad al-Sabahi managed to obtain 60 signatures, half from workers or farmers and half from heads of groups, as required by the law on political parties issued during the late President al-Sadat's regime!

Al-Sabahi submitted the party documents to the political parties committee, which refused to authorize the party when they noticed that the names of half of the members ended in "al-Sabahi." The committee said that this could not have been an Egyptian party, only an al-Sabahi family party. However, he did not give up. He appealed the decision before the High Administrative Court, which approved establishment of the party! It is strange that al-Sabahi's party is not in compliance with one of the basic conditions for forming a political party--that 20 of its members be members of the People's Assembly. Not a single deputy belongs to this party and yet no one asked him about not fulfilling this basic condition, and the ruling was issued in his favor!

For that matter, al-Sabahi is not his real name but a famous name he gave himself because it sounded distinguished. His real name is Ahmad 'Awadallah Khalil. Then he decided that one famous name was not enough and gave himself another, Ahmad al-Khomeyni. He also let his beard grow after the decision establishing the party was issued in order to appear more dignified and venerable and to encourage young members of Islamic groups to join him, according to his own account.

I attended an interview between al-Sabahi and Reuters' Cairo correspondent Hilal al-Sa'id. Hilal asked him in the interview how the idea of the party came to him. He answered that in a dream he had a marvelous vision that he would succeed in forming a political party. He also "sought guidance" in this regard, and the answer confirmed what he saw in the dream!

I was talking to him about the secret of the new name he had given himself, Ahmad al-Khomeyni. He said that he greatly admired Imam al-Khomeyni, leader of the Iranian revolution, who made himself a higher authority than the president. When the ruling was issued establishing the party, he took the name al-Khomeyni because he wants to make himself an authority higher than that of the party chairman so that he can remove him whenever he wants and replace him with someone else!!

He said that the name of the new chairman of the party must be illustrious and that he must keep it unsullied so that he can use it to achieve his interests in various government quarters. For this reason he is nominating Shaykh Mutawalli al-Sha'rawi as party chairman. I objected to al-Sha'arawi, saying that he was definitely not cut out for political work.

The important thing is that al-Sabahi was sufficiently convinced by my rejection of Shaykh al-Sha'rawi that we began to go over the names of some other figures to whom the chairmanship could be offered. Then I realized that he was not convinced, but was merely pretending, since he contacted me and told me that after this discussion, he had gone directly to Shaykh al-Sha'rawi in his village (Daqadus) in al-Daqahliyah and told him that he was pleased to convey what he called the wish of "the people" of the Ummah Party and the unanimous decision of the founding group of the party to nominate him as chairman of the party. However, Shaykh al-Sha'rawi refused and said, "I have no place in politics or political parties. I want to devote my efforts to all the people."

I began to sense the great distance and wide gap between al-Sabahi and me. Nonetheless, I said, "There's nothing left now but for the heavens to provide us with a miracle and let us return to serious work instead of this joke." But the opposite happened and the mistakes continued!

First al-Sabahi announced that we would enter the by-elections for the Consultative Council and the local councils on the basis of proportional lists or unrestricted lists or any basis the government and ruling party decided, even though he knows in advance that he will not win under any circumstances but will realize a profit of no less than 40,000 pounds!

I asked him, "How?!"

He said that he had learned that the government would pay every opposition party 200 pounds for each candidate who enters the election to help defray advertising expenses. He said that he had agreed with Abu al-Faid al-Jizawi, lawyer and secretary of the Labor Party election committee, that the latter would give him lists with the names of 200 Labor Party candidates to be entered in the elections under the Ummah Party name since the Labor Party had decided to boycott the elections.

Then al-Sabahi met with Dr Subhi 'Abd al-Hakim, chairman of the Consultative Council and the political parties committee and Ministers Muhammad Rashwan and Mukhtar Hani after the ruling in his favor, demanding that they give him all of Dar al-Sha'b's printing presses after getting rid of all the employees because he was going to publish a "daily" paper which would be the Ummah Party organ and would be run according to "its principles." He also demanded the funding decided upon for the party, at least 9,000 pounds annually, the same practice the government followed with the Labor Party! However, the three officials, 'Abd al-Hakim, Rashwan and Hani, told al-Sabahi that they could not give him the Dar al-Sha'b presses with the conditions he laid down. They promised to give him two apartments in the 'Arayis buildings on al-Qasr al-'Ayni Street as party headquarters in place of Dar al-Sha'b. They promised to look into the stipend when the budget allowed!

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## FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAM DESCRIBED, SHORTCOMINGS NOTED

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic No 769, 10 Oct 83 pp 22-24

[Text] The Population Conference, which is expected to be part of the Conference of the Future, will be held soon. At no time in history have hundreds of conferences been held to study one topic in such a short period of time as is the case with the problem of world population. This is not a result of the vagueness of the topic as much as it is a result of the widening gap between what is suitable for circulation at the conferences and what can be accomplished in the field. With the proliferation of these conferences, a jargon has been created for the topic whose expressions are ever more prolific and resonant, but at the same time unable to approach the deep-seated reality of most of the countries that need to control the size of their populations. The result of this is that the same faces turn up at these conferences so that they can achieve the desired proficiency [in the jargon] and at the end of these conferences the identical recommendations are made to be put away in the drawer until the next conference.

In Egypt we have clear proof of this. The proof is the weakness of our national family planning program which was initially implemented in 1966 when the rate of population growth was 2.6 percent annually. Despite the program, the rate increased to 2.8 percent annually in 1980 rather than decreasing. The Egyptian program has become an international example of a weak program as was stated twice by the International Journal of Population Reports. The journal considered the programs in South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore to be examples of strong programs, the program in India to be an example of an average program, and the program in Egypt to be an example of a weak program.

The Egyptian program had an auspicious beginning from 1966 to 1969. It then leveled off until 1973 when it began to decline. My field and public work in the area of family planning since 1962 has given me the opportunity to come into contact with many things that are not discussed in the conferences because of the preoccupation with the failure of the program. These things can be divided into two parts:

- 1) The social, economic and cultural factors rooted in the nature of these people, and the changing political factors.



2) The inability to administer the program in a way that takes advantage of modern administration techniques to achieve success in the event that the above-mentioned factors should change.

Those in the world who are incapable of administering their population control programs have found an excuse in the results of the Bucharest Conference which concluded that comprehensive development must be the beginning of any effective population control program. With this they are saved from the demands that they achieve a successful program because development is a subject that has no end and is something that will never be achieved to the desired extent in the developing countries in the short or long term. Therefore, the development imperative becomes first and foremost a convenient hook on which all failures are hung. This notion has been spread in all scientific and political fields until many have fallen into this belief, including political leaders, and despair has settled on everyone.

Therefore, I fear the conference jargon in the upcoming conference. The participants should know that when the day comes that the desired social and economic development has been achieved there will be no reason to hold a population conference and no reason for a family planning program itself because birth control will spring from within individuals themselves without an enlightenment program. Therefore, there is no benefit in reiterating the importance of development at the upcoming population conference. The participants should engross themselves in achieving what is possible under the current circumstances despite all the obstacles. The facts must be laid bare so that the decisions will be practical and can be promoted among the masses and the uneducated. This generation and future generations will pay an expensive price for the delay of a decision based on facts and not on colorful, translated expressions. We are currently experiencing a population explosion and not waiting for one to happen as some believe. The decisions of the political leadership must be as forceful as the decisions of the captain of a ship in a violent storm. I am imagining, for example, that there should be no new supply cards that are good for more than five people. Such a decision would be merely a polite message but it is essential for those who do not give the interests of the country proper consideration.

We now live under the protective umbrella of American wheat. After a few years there will be no place for us under this umbrella if we do not have a successful population control program and if we do not pay the price. Imagine how long the bread lines would be if a few wheat ships were late in arriving. This is another message to those who do not comprehend the danger of a situation where we have to import 80 percent of our food.

A quick response on the part of the masses to family planning, like an increase in production or cleanliness, requires a certain political climate.



## Implementing Individual Incentives

The factors that prevent large segments of the public from practicing birth control range from a belief that religion is opposed to birth control to the dictates of traditions to an insecurity in some people who find no other means of asserting themselves other than through continual child-bearing. All of these factors are surpassed by the factor of negligence. Many studies show that there is a large difference between the desire for birth control and the practice of birth control. We can say that a large percentage of births are the results of parents who did not really want to have a child but negligence kept them from taking the proper measures. This large segment of negligent people would be targets for the success of a modern administration of the national program.

Family planning on the individual level is not new. People have tried to control pregnancy using various methods throughout history. Some Egyptian women are still using pharaonic methods. However, family planning by dealing with millions of people to achieve specific results with the population is a very new science. Aspects of it became clear during the second half of the twentieth century after science quickly advanced and eliminated many of mankind's diseases that had controlled population growth and maintained the integrity of the environment. When God blessed us with the elimination of these diseases, such as malaria, tuberculosis, polio and other fatal diseases, the population grew beyond the capability to sustain it and millions of people in the Third World began to die of starvation every year. The Third World is where the people multiplied in such great numbers that it reached a point that required actions so that the balance would not be upset. Right at that moment God granted us with the weapon of advanced birth control methods to help us if we were to open our eyes to the danger of unlimited population growth around us. The laws of nature say that creatures that multiply in great numbers, such as fish, must die in great numbers.

The problem here is that the means of advancement, such as birth control, require a change in the beliefs and customs rooted in the minds of the people. It is difficult to move ahead quickly but a beginning can be achieved in two ways:

- 1) By demonstrating in a convincing manner that birth control has a real and tangible advantage to the individual who only views society in terms of his personal interests.
- 2) By creating a general climate that encourages a sensitivity for the country in the individual and gives him the feeling that a new era has begun in which there will be equal opportunities, justice and order for all. This would create a widespread feeling of enthusiasm. At that time it would be possible to realize a successful population project whose motives would not be limited to individual interests but would also include society's interests.

A thorough study of the Egyptian people reveals characteristics that can be taken advantage of in promoting progress in the areas of family planning, cleanliness and increased productivity. These people are distinguished by a kind of stubbornness to authority if they feel that matters don't satisfy them. Throughout their long history, these people have grown accustomed to dealing with the leaders that held power by continuing the status quo with an outwardly docile people who appeared easy to govern, but who did not cooperate easily. For an eye-opening example of this, look at any productive unit that is headed by a sincere, honest man. You will find that everyone there has conformed to the boss' way of life. But if someone the opposite were to become boss, how quickly the people would turn to sloppiness and destruction. Family planning society centers in Alexandria are exposed to many of these local factors. Work was very poor at one of the centers but it appeared that everyone there was satisfied. As soon as a sincere, enthusiastic doctor was put in charge of the center the situation turned around and the center became very strong. The staff and the public cooperated with this doctor and the factors that previously contributed to the weakness of the center seemed to have disappeared. This nature of the Egyptian people that has attracted the attention of the president determines everything.

Until the appropriate climate exists, the Family Planning Authority has no option in promoting family planning but to focus on the advantage to the individual of birth control. Anyone who realizes the real advantage of birth control seeks enthusiastically to practice it. It is very easy to impress on every woman, regardless of her level of education, that repeated pregnancy and what it does to the feminine body is the secret behind second marriages in our country. This is something that is never mentioned at divorce proceedings or before the second marriage but gynecologists are well aware of it. When a mother at an advanced age thinking about having a child even though she doesn't need children realizes that there is a much higher chance of death and that another woman will take her place, she is very hesitant. In addition to this, the chief form of prevention of one of the most harmful diseases in women, cervical cancer, is to have very few children. The disease is almost totally restricted to women who have had many children. Parents will learn that additional children will become acquainted in school with colleagues from small families who have a quiet place to study and who can buy extra books and private lessons when necessary. All this makes the additional child incapable of achieving high grades for reasons he had no hand in.

There are many such examples that would arouse the concern of the people if they were broadcast directly or indirectly through the media, especially radio and television. Radio and television have acquired a special importance in Egypt. There is no national pastime where groups of people gather and spend long hours without needing a radio or television. This has contributed to the spread of these two devices into Egyptian homes regardless of how poor they may be. There are international statistics indicating this. If Egyptians get together without a television or radio, then it is just to tell jokes.

In any case, the importance of the mass media is limited to planting the seed in the minds of the people of the importance of family planning. However, the final push to practice family planning comes from the natural leaders that spring from among the people. They have the power of influence and personality that can change the behavior of others. Most of the time these are people who are happy because they have practiced family planning. Such people have been successfully trained at the Family Planning Society in Alexandria since 1969.

#### Effectiveness of Family Planning Centers

More than 3,500 family planning centers are spread throughout the cities and villages of Egypt. About 500 of these are managed by civilian groups under the supervision of the Ministry of Social Affairs and the remainder are located in the facilities of the Ministry of Health and various hospitals. The Family Planning Authority is charged with financing and monitoring and the Higher Council is charged with planning.

Each of these centers is engaged in the distribution of birth control pills. Some of them distribute condoms and at times other local means and a portion of the centers implant intrauterine devices (IUD's).

The wages paid to the workers come from the 5 qirsh charged for pills and the 1 pound fee for implanting an IUD. This money is distributed according to a specific schedule to the doctor, the social workers, the midwife or nurse, the clerk and the staff in each family planning center.

The low prices have not changed since the beginning of the project. In fact, the price had been 10 qirsh for pills since 1966 but was lowered to 5 qirsh in 1970. This money is distributed to five people as compensation for doing the necessary work of advertising to attract women, giving them a clinical examination, explaining usage, keeping thorough records including a card stating their condition and schedules visits, and following up.

The same applies to the insertion of IUD's. We all know how much prices have changed in Egypt during the 16 years that have passed since the beginning of the National Family Planning Project. The value of currency has gone down and we have tried to keep up with inflation. The administrators of the project have not tried to correct for this bad situation throughout these years. One thing they could do is lower the taxes on the morsels we take in.

Even these few morsels are not paid to the employees for several months and sometimes more than a year after the employees have provided the service. In one case, the nurse was not paid for her IUD services because of a mistake in the computer program that insisted on the name of the midwife. This situation continued for more than a year, during which time the nurses began harshly criticising the IUD method.

This tragedy reached its peak in 1978 when the senior employees of the Ministry of Health shared some of their few qirsh with the workers in the health centers. The Public Society stopped paying salaries to the workers in the public centers for more than a year under the pretext that they were studying a new system of incentives. It would have been logical to continue payments until a new system was found. After more than a year, during which time the workers wavered between prosperity and despair from the loss of their rights, the old system of payment returned unchanged.

The price of pills at the drugstore declined to the price at the centers so it was natural that many people would begin buying from the drugstores. We have reservations about the drugstores selling the pills without a doctor's prescription, since in some cases it is very harmful to take the pills. However, the low wages of the centers' employees do not justify them exerting great efforts or being enthusiastic about attracting new customers.

It is clear then from the above that it is not possible to prepare a family planning army to enter battle against the challenges that we will certainly face in the 1980's and 1990's. It has become necessary to give this matter the importance it deserves. This is not difficult if we consider in detail the proposals I have summarized below:

- 1) Determine the average financial receipts for each center for the past two years. This would include the total income from the insertion of IUD's over the course of a year and the average monthly income from the distribution of pills and traditional means.
- 2) Divide the centers into three or four groups according to total receipts and fix salaries for all of the employees according to the group their center is in to induce them to achieve a certain goal with an increase of not less than 5 percent per year.
- 3) Give bonuses that increase in accordance with surpassed goals or decrease in accordance with unachieved goals at the end of the year.
- 4) Give fair moral incentives, travel and career encouragement to everyone who proves his skill in this field.

The challenges of the coming period are greater than the mere salaries of employees. The work in the centers must be developed and raised to the desired level by constant preparation.

One of the relatively simple decisions would be to have specialists in family planning work full-time at the various centers and to have every few dozen centers linked to a model center in a central location that would provide the following services:

- 1) Provide all available forms of birth control including surgical sterilization for cases that require it.

- 2) Treat all cases sent to it from the branch centers, regardless of the problem.
- 3) Provide a clinic for treating sterility and providing care for pregnant mothers.
- 4) Provide a children's clinic.
- 5) Perform the necessary clinical tests such as determining pregnancy and checking the vagina for early detection of cancer.
- 6) Train crews to operate the centers before they are sent to work.
- 7) Hold periodic meetings to monitor activities.
- 8) Conduct field studies and prepare conclusions from them.

Of course workers in the model centers will be full-time workers. These workers must undergo a specific selection process so that we choose people with personalities acceptable to the masses. Actually, we have found this to be a necessity in choosing all family planning doctors and specialists. If we were to build at least ten model centers annually we would enter the 1990's in an excellent position.

I would like to point out something important in terms of training doctors to insert IUD's. Current training only encompasses training in the insertion of IUD's in a few cases. However, it is important that the doctor perform no less than 20 vaginal scrapings so that he becomes familiar with the inside of the womb. In my opinion, this is more important than training in IUD's only.

The administration of the family planning program in Egypt must be a dynamic, advanced administration that is constantly alert to what is happening so that it can make decisions one by one.

Anyone working in the field hopes for the following:

- 1) That the Family Planning Authority reassumes an increased role in the administration of the activities of the centers.
- 2) That the Higher Council for Family Planning will not be made up of ministers that are constantly changing and who thus spend a long time before they comprehend the intricate dimensions of family planning. Besides, they have other important work-related burdens. It is unthinkable that the ministries cannot do what is necessary without the minister himself. This council should be made up of full-time experts and deputies from the concerned ministries. Ask how many times the Higher Council for Family Planning has met since it was established.

3) That the regional committees not be under deputy ministers and headed by the governor. This situation suffers from the same problems that the Higher Council suffers from.

At all levels there must be a balance between the administrative side and practical and scientific experience so that the decisions made can be put into practice.

12608

CSO: 4504/37

## MINING SECTOR ANALYZED

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3456, 7 Nov 83 pp 2563-2564

[Article by Howard Schissel]

[Text]

MAURITANIA'S precarious economic recovery is being thrown into serious jeopardy by the poor showing of its vital mining industry. Not only are iron ore sales lagging, but slack demand for other minerals on the world market is liable to slow down the realisation of several mining schemes now in the pipeline, or even force their eventual cancellation.

Iron ore exports, representing 80 per cent of Nouakchott's foreign currency earnings, have been gravely curtailed by the down turn in the world steel manufacturing industry. After recovery from the damage inflicted in the mid-1970s on the iron ore mining sector by the conflict in the Western Sahara, output is now falling further and further short of production capacity and targets. In 1981, Mauritania seemed on the road to recovery with 8.9m. tonnes of iron ore exports. This, unfortunately, was just a temporary fillip, for in 1982 exports tumbled to 7.6m. tonnes, the lowest figure in six years.

President Mohammed Khouna Ould Haidalla recently made a personal appeal to European states to support Mauritania's economy by continuing to purchase its iron ore. Western Europe represents Mauritania's principal market, with France having taken 2.6m. tonnes in 1981, followed by Italy's 1.97m., Belgium's 1.7m., Britain's 700,000 tonnes, West Germany's 500,000 tonnes and Spain's 400,000 tonnes.

The recession in Japan caused a cutback of Mauritanian ore imports from 686,000 tonnes in 1981 to 400,000 tonnes in 1982. Representatives of Mauritania's state mining company, Société Minière Industrielle

& Minière (SNIM), sought to convince Japanese steel firms to agree to a long term contract, but the latter refused, preferring the annual one year contract which gives them greater flexibility.

In 1983, the conjuncture is far from bright for Mauritanian iron ore exports, which could even slip below the 7m. tonne mark. "If we go any lower," commented Baba Ould Sidi Absallah, SNIM managing director in a recent interview for the government-controlled daily *Chaab*, "our enterprise won't be profitable and this evolution is likely to engender serious structural dilemmas for us."

This slowdown, in fact, could not have come at a worse time for SNIM, in the midst of launching the first phase of its Guelbs iron ore development scheme, designed to boost capacity to 15m. tonnes a year (t/y) by the mid-1990s. The three mines presently in production near the town of Zouerate -- namely, Tazadit, Rouessa and F'Dének -- have been in operation for almost two decades and are nearing exhaustion of their high grade ore (65-67 per cent mineral content). New lower grade deposits, contained in the rocky outcroppings called Guelbs which dot the area around Zouérate, are to make up the difference.

Mining at the El Rheim mine is due to commence at the end of 1984 at 3m. t/y, and rise thereafter to a steady 6m. t/y. During a second phase, towards the end of the 1980s, the Oum Arwagen site is to be exploited at around the same rate. Because of the relatively low grade of the ore in place (35-37 per cent) a \$90m. concentration plant is being built.

Total investment in the first phase of the Guelbs scheme was originally pegged at some \$500m., but due to renegotiation of certain contracts for capital equipment this sum has been slimmed down to \$350m.. Minister of Mines and Energy Dieng Boubou Farba told *West Africa* in a recent interview in Nouakchott. This will enable Mauritania to scale down the loans for the project provided by Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Abu Dhabi, France, Japan, the African Development Bank and the OPEC Special Fund.

SNIM's immediate goal is to line up as many long term contracts for Guelbs iron ore. Through its sales campaigns in 1981-82, SNIM managed to get user's letters of intent covering close to 3m. t/y. or half of El Rhein's proposed output. These clients were Arab states in the Gulf. At the beginning of 1983, SNIM announced an agreement to supply iron ore to Algeria's national steel concern, Société Nationale de Sidérurgie (SNS), with delivery of a reported 2m. tonnes to start at the end of next year. A Bahrain-based group, Arab Iron & Steel Company, is also thought to be near signing a letter of intent for a similar quantity of Mauritanian ore. Negotiations are still going forward with a group of Japanese buyers.

Much of the infrastructure for the project's first stage has already been completed, and orders for about 75 per cent of equipment and materials have already been placed. Capacity at the port of Nouadhibou is to be extended from its current 135,000 dwt maximum in the first stage, with more significant expansion foreseen during the second stage.

Société Arabe des Mines d'Inchiri (SAMIN), the joint-venture in which Mauritania holds 34 per cent of the capital and the rest by the Amman-based Arab Mining Company (ARIMCO—itsself owned by Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iraq and Libya), decided last year to postpone the reactivation of the Akjoujt copper mines, whose cost has been pegged at \$65m. Depressed copper prices and possible lack of finance have been advanced as reasons to explain this delay. The mine, formerly majority control by Charter Consolidated, was shut down in 1978 because of unprofitable operations.

Seltrust Engineering of the UK did a feasibility study of the deposit which revealed that its top level of oxidised copper was virtually exhausted, while a lower level

contained some 16.9m. tonnes of sulphurised ore with a 2.25 per cent metal content. There are other precious metals in the ore, particularly gold, as well as economically attractive trailing (waste rock) from the original mining operations. Dieng Boubou Farba is optimistic that SAMIN can come on stream sometime in 1985. Initial studies indicated that at £1.100 a tonne, the Akjoujt mine could turn a profit. Copper prices, however, have been depressed since 1980, and it was only at the beginning of 1983 that they broke the £1,000 mark. Copper is tipped as a star performer this year, but as in the past speculation could easily drive prices down. In many respects, the SAMIN venture remains risky, even if the Mauritians claim that they could sell their output to interested Arab states.

With the slowdown in the nuclear energy programmes in most industrialised states, the demand for uranium has plummeted over the past two years. With the supply curve exceeding demand, companies have reduced exploration activities. Thus, the Franco-Japanese consortium prospecting in the Dorsale Reguibat region in the extreme north, close to the town of Ain Ben Tili, has practically halted its operations.

Possibilities appear brighter for the phosphate deposits at Bofal, located close to the Senegal River some 350km. from the coast. Dieng Boubou Farba says reserves have been temporarily estimated at 120m. tonnes of 22 per cent phosphate rock. Further prospecting could boost known reserves to over 150m. tonnes. A consortium including SNIM, France's Bureau de Recherche Géologique et Minière (BRGM), Romania's Geomines and Société Sénégalaise des Phosphates de Thiès has been established to oversee prospecting. An ARIMCO team visited Nouakchott at the end of 1982 to study proposals to finance mining operations.

A major obstacle to be overcome is transport. Three alternatives have been advanced. Firstly, the phosphate rock could be shipped 20km. by road to the Senegal River and then conveyed by barge to Senegal's port of St Louis for export. Such a solution would require the effective harnessing of the river to make year-round navigation possible. Another drawback is that Mauritanian officials are not keen about having its minerals exported through Senegal for fear of eventual political press-



ures. A second possibility is the shipping of the phosphate by the trans-Mauritanian highway for export via the Chinese-built port of Nouakchott, scheduled to be ready in 1984. A third choice, and the one favoured by the government says Dien Boubou Farba, is the building of a railway to Nouakchott for the transport of the mineral. If costs are high, Farba believes that such a scheme would open up the hinterland to economic activities thereby helping defray costs. Studies are underway and recommendations are expected by the end of this year.

Oil exploration received a fillip early this year when Oxoco International of the US picked up the 20,000 square kilometre block 9. This onshore permit starts south of the capital and covers the land mass along the Senegal River up to Leggah. This choice came somewhat as a surprise to oilmen who reckoned that offshore blocks 5 and 8 were the most interesting. The American group is to carry out seismic studies during a two-year period and then drill an exploration well.

Oxoco is the second American company to pick up acreage in Mauritania over the last 16 months. Mobil Oil had previously acquired the 28,000 square kilometre block 6, covering an onshore area around Nouakchott, and the more interesting 9,800 square kilometre offshore block 5, west of the capital. After carrying out seismic studies, Mobil is likely to relinquish block 6 and concentrate its efforts on block 5, on which it could soon begin tests.

Negotiations are going forward with other companies. *West Africa* has learned that Atlantic Richfield (ARCO) is interested in block 8, but other firms are also in the running. The Mauritians are negotiating to get the highest exploration commitment possible. "Our aim is to get as many companies prospecting in Mauritania and have them sink as many exploration wells as possible in the shortest period," Director of Energy M'Boye Ould Arafat told *West Africa*. Finally, Esso's exploration in Mali's Taoudeni basin could open up new prospects for the Mauritanian portion of the basin which Italy's Agip drilled in the early 1970s.

CSO: 4500/13

## ECONOMIC PROBLEMS NOTED

East Burnham ARABIA THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English No 27, Nov 83

[Text]

The extent of Morocco's foreign indebtedness - currently standing at \$11bn and rising - is causing headaches to the government and its creditors alike. The country can no longer afford a standard of living to which it has long been accustomed, and which is well above its means.

The alarm was raised in spring 1983, when it became apparent that the country's foreign exchange reserves had reached a dangerously low level: Morocco could hardly meet one month's import payments.

The protracted world economic recession, in conjunction with the collapse in the price of phosphates, has landed Morocco in serious economic difficulties. If the country is to have any credibility with its trading partners, a satisfactory repayment of some of the medium and long-term loans will have to be made.

It is doubtful, however, whether in the current world financial crisis Morocco will succeed in rescheduling part of its foreign debt; nor will foreign banks be willing to make further loans to bail it out. In March this year, stringent import controls were introduced in the hope of stabilising the country's \$1.7bn current account deficit and preparing the ground for concessionary IMF and World Bank loans. Morocco is very much aware that it should not overstretch its creditors, in case future loans are not forthcoming. The July austerity budget was designed to demonstrate to the IMF that Morocco was

doing its utmost to bring its ailing economy back to health.

Translated into everyday life, this involved cutting back on public sector spending. The 1983 job creation programme is being drastically limited - of the 44,000 jobs originally budgeted for, half are being scrapped. The capital expenditure programme will also be affected: several projects included in the 1981-85 plan are now certain to be shelved. In real terms, these measures will cut the standard of living of the majority of Moroccan people.

Painful measures though these may seem, the IMF may well consider them inadequate to justify further sizeable loans. Already, repayment and servicing of the existing \$11bn debt deprives the Moroccan treasury of about \$2bn a year. In addition to this crippling loss, the country will have to find additional resources to finance the huge balance-of-payments deficits, estimated this year at \$2bn.

Although some Muslim countries and the West have promised bilateral aid amounting to \$1bn, the shortfall still remains huge. It is doubtful whether the combined IMF/World Bank rescue loans will fill the gap, since only \$500m can be expected from this source. These two agencies will doubtless push for further austerity measures to reduce the balance-of-payments deficit.

Four main reasons have been given for Morocco's poor economic performance.

The country's main foreign exchange earner – the mining industry, phosphates in particular – has been particularly hard hit by the collapse of world commodity prices. Phosphates prices fell by more than 50 per cent in 10 years, from \$65 a ton in 1974 to the current \$30 a ton. In addition, there was a fall of output from 18.6m tons to 17.1m tons during this period, a loss of 7.9 per cent. This alone has lost Morocco an important source of foreign exchange earnings.

Increased imports have added to the economist problems. While Morocco has long had a relatively efficient and productive agricultural sector, in recent years there has been a net deterioration. For instance, cereal production to date in 1983 has dropped by 33.6 per cent compared to the previous year; output has fallen to 3.2m tons from 4.5m tons. This poor performance has been attributed to the prevailing drought and lack of efficiency. No doubt the deficit will have to be met with imports.

Although difficult to quantify, the Western Sahara war is also costing the country dear in financial resources and human suffering. Renewed fighting between Polisario and Moroccan forces would escalate the arms race in the region.

For Morocco, whose economy is already in pretty bad shape, additional arms expenditure will exacerbate the already weakened state of the economy, and this in turn could lead to increased social unrest.

CSO: 4500/14

ALI YATA'S COMMENTS ON RECENT ELECTIONS, CRISIS, SAHARA

Casablanca AL BAYANE in French 22 Oct 83 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Ali Yata, general secretary of the PPS [Party of Progress and Socialism], on the situation in Morocco, the crisis and relations within the Moroccan left; published in the Lebanese magazine ES SIYAD, October 1983, No 2032 and translated into French by the AL BAYANE editorial staff]

[Text] - In Morocco, all political trends are ready for the referendum.

- To overcome the crisis, it will take another policy and other means.

[Question] We note that your party did very poorly in the latest local elections last June; it obtained only 19 seats out of a total of close to 6,000. How do you account for this poor show?

[Answer] First, let me say that we question the outcome of these elections, as we consider they were not in order. We questioned these elections and asked that they be declared invalid and new elections organized in sound conditions, to be applied entirely without any interference from the Administration, as was done in the previous election; the Administration had divided the seats ahead of time, and it oriented the outcome of the elections to fit with what it had decided it would be.

[Question] But you are not the only ones to protest against these elections. Even the parties of the government coalition consider that the results are invalid.

[Answer] Indeed, they do. That is what actually happened. But our reason for challenging these elections are not the same as theirs. They disagree with the way they had to compete with one another. For our part, we question the very principles on which these elections were based...

Besides, we have many proofs of official interference. Not the least is the fact that candidates without a political label got the lion's share. This is explained by the fact that the Administration prefers to deal with "independents" that are not united by a common commitment: that way, they are easier to manipulate...

Also, how is it that the "Constitutional Union" came out second in the elections, when this party had been created just a few weeks before the elections? The answer is that this party is the prime minister's party.

[Question] If it is true that the government interfered with the elections, how do you explain that the USFP [Socialist Union of Popular Forces], an opposition party, obtained close to 500 seats?

[Answer] The government had figured it out, and it may have considered that the USFP would not always be a danger for the government. For my part, I believe that the seats this party got truly reflect the influence it has. The government, therefore, acknowledged this to a certain extent, in that it allowed this party to obtain honorable results, which it deserved. Things were quite different in our case. Everybody knows how much influence we have among workers and farmers and among certain underprivileged classes, especially in towns. Our popularity was confirmed by several meetings which we organized lately, for instance to celebrate the 10th anniversary of our daily AL BAYANE, or on the occasion of our party's third national congress. Even during the election campaign, we held meetings which attracted large crowds, as thousands of citizens attended each of these meetings. We have been active on the Moroccan political scene for 40 years. And although we were banned on three occasions during this period of time, our influence increased. This is why the government tried to edge us out, to defeat the unification process that had been gaining momentum lately between us and the USFP. By giving a diminished image of us, the government wanted to convince the USFP that it would be futile to cooperate with us for the creation of a Moroccan leftist front.

[Question] Allow us yet to point out that a democratic climate is prevailing in Morocco. Witness to this is the fact that your party has been legal since 1974 and your press is sold at newspaper stands next to the government press. How can you charge the authorities with manipulating the election at a time when you have full freedom of action?

[Answer] I am one of those who acknowledge that democratic liberties exist in Morocco, up to a point. The government respects the freedom that was obtained by our people after many years of struggle. But the fact that these liberties exist does not mean that all is for the best, especially since the democratic experiment is still young.

Forces exist that oppose democracy. The existence of liberties and the fact that the government respects them in part does not prevent those who oppose democracy from rigging the elections.

[Question] Besides the elections, the country is experiencing other problems. An acute economic crisis is prevailing; it is a cause of concern for the government and has caused it to adopt austerity measures. How is the Moroccan economy doing today?

[Answer] It is a fact that economic stagnation is affecting all Moroccan citizens. The middle class is complaining that its profits are declining. The effects of this serious crisis are easy to see: the development of productive

forces is at a standstill, industrial production is declining, the agricultural product is stagnating at the same level as 20 years ago, although the population has considerably increased... To observers, these are as many indicators of a crisis. This situation leads to plant closings, worker layoffs, an increased deficit of the balance of payments, an increased foreign debt, which now exceeds tens of billions... so that international financing institutions are starting to impose drastic conditions on any new loans to Morocco.

This was the case with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which imposed extremely strict prerequisites--such as the abolition of subsidies on staple products--before granting the government the credit it had asked for.

[Question] Government officials recognize the situation and say they are working to overcome it. As an opposition party, do you have any definite solution to offer to get us out of this crisis?

[Answer] Before considering what solutions may exist, we should dwell on the causes of the crisis. According to officials, there are two causes to the economic crisis which affects the country: the first has to do with the impact of the international monetary crisis and its effects on Morocco. The second is the considerable amounts which the country is spending on the Sahara war.

For our part, we do not deny the existence of these two factors, no more than we minimize their impact. But they are not the only causes of the crisis. In our opinion, the essential factor in the crisis results from the liberal orientation which the government has given to the economy. This is a poorly chosen orientation for an underdeveloped country like Morocco. Liberalism enables a minority to get rich, but it is unable to build the new Moroccan society.

[Question] What, then, is the alternative?

[Answer] The solution is the alternative we offer. The alternative which is formulated by the Moroccan left as a whole. It is based on giving up economic liberalism in favor of a new policy and other options that would make it possible to take advantage of the many resources of our country and to develop our potential for the benefit of the Moroccan people and its workers, so as to meet the country's demands and needs.

The alternative, therefore, would involve adopting a series of measure, among which a radical agrarian reform that would give land to those who do not own it, the industrialization of the country, the development of our major mining resources, such as phosphates, etc. We should also take advantage of our huge fishing resources that extend over 3,600 km of shores, the richest fishing grounds in the world. Also, Morocco must manufacture itself the agricultural machinery it needs--and I insist that is something we can achieve.

Our alternative is also guaranteed jobs for the hundreds of thousand who are unemployed. It is also schooling for all children; it is unthinkable that three million of our children should still not go to school, despite the law on compulsory schooling.

[Question] All these measures would have no practical effect if they could not be financed. Now, as you said, Morocco is in the grip of a crisis. Under these conditions, how could these alternative measures be financed?

[Answer] We are fully aware that this program needs financing. And we also have proposals on the subject, such as the nationalization of certain crucial sectors of the Moroccan economy, for instance the banks, insurance companies, foreign trade companies. Nationalizing these would provide much of the financing needed for the structural reforms that Morocco must undertake. Also, we suggest a radical tax reform that would enable us to get money from where it is abundant...

[Question] You insist on nationalizations. But a number of countries, France for instance, have found out that nationalizations had detrimental effects, no less than those of liberalism. Great-Britain even returned some nationalized companies to the private sector...

[Answer] Each country will have its own experience. What is valid for large industrialized countries such as France or Great-Britain is not necessarily what a developing country like Morocco will need. And the failure of nationalizations in a number of countries does not at all mean that Morocco should not consider them.

[Question] All these are formal proposals... Let us imagine that you were asked to take part in the concrete implementation of this orientation by joining in the government. Would you accept?

[Answer] Of course we would. Our party is a political force in the country and the calling of any political organization is to share in managing the country's affairs.

I will say quite frankly that if we were offered a place in the government, we would be inclined to accept it, but under three conditions:

- The preliminary adoption of a government program. We would not join the government without knowing what it is planning to do.
- The guarantee that we would be given adequate means to implement this program, after a preliminary agreement on the nature of these means.
- Support from the mobilized masses, for it will not be possible to get out of the crisis without the people's support.

[Question] But if there was an agreement on most of these conditions, anybody could implement the resulting provisions without asking you to join the government?

[Answer] We are not asking to be represented in the government just so we can be ministers! What we are concerned about is the country's recovery. It does not matter who is in charge... Whether we are in the government or not, we shall support any orientation that would be based on these conditions.

[Question] There is no doubt that the USFP is the most powerful opposition party. You feel yourself that your party is popular enough to entitle you to over 100 seats in local elections, but the USFP obtained close to 500. Don't you think that the discrepancy between these two positions will influence the nature of your relations with the USFP within the opposition?

[Answer] We do not believe that the strength of the USFP is a factor of weakness for our party. For there are objective bases that cause our relations with the USFP to be positive.

The USFP and us are both in favor of socialism, although ideological differences may exist between us. We also agree on major questions of national interest.

The solutions we offer and their solutions are close in their major lines. Also, personal relations exist between USFP and PPS militants, as can be seen by the mutual assistance and support they give each other in times of crisis. The USFP and our party have many positions in common, and we have fully coordinated our action, at the top as well as in the rank and file. This is why the government tried to present our party as a marginal force, in order to convince the USFP that it was useless for it to ally itself with us.

[Question] A last question, of interest to all Moroccans. The referendum on the Moroccan West Sahara is scheduled to take place before the end of the year. In his speech on the King and People's Revolution, the Moroccan sovereign mentioned that the country was getting ready for the referendum. Do you believe that the referendum will take place as scheduled?

[Answer] That will depend on others, not on the Moroccans. I shall say frankly that all political trends in Morocco are ready for the referendum, at any time. Our country wants this referendum. In Nairobi, on three successive occasions, we accepted not only the principle of a referendum, but also its conditions. There is a Moroccan consensus on the question of territorial unity. This consensus is nothing new. In Morocco, despite our political differences, we all agree on the question of our country's independence and its territorial integrity.

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CSO: 4519/25



FOURTH GENERAL MEETING OF PPS CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Casablanca AL BAYANE in French 25 Oct 83 pp 1, 3

[Article: "Last Sunday in Casablanca at Its Fourth General Meeting, the PPS Central Committee Analyzed the Development of the National and International Situation and Set the Party's Tasks as the World Crisis Is Getting Worse"]

[Text] "The general situation and the party's tasks," such was the agenda of the fourth meeting of the PPS [Party of Progress and Socialism] Central Committee which met last Sunday in Casablanca. This ordinary meeting of the PPS Central Committee may rightly be considered as a landmark in the country's political life, which is characterized by total abdication in the face of widespread crisis presenting multiple exceedingly serious facets, and the deterioration of the economic and social situation accompanied by widespread discontent among the masses.

The clear and clear-sighted analysis of the situation made last Sunday by the Central Committee opens new prospects for the workers and the people and reaffirms the high sense of responsibility of the PPS as an opposition political force capable of being creatively and constructively imaginative in the darkest moment of the country's political and social life.

The chairman of this meeting, Comrade Abdeslam Bourquia, member of the Political Bureau and most senior party member, recalled the critical circumstances in which the highest party authority between two congresses was meeting. It was meeting after the summer which, in our country, is traditionally marked by an unjustifiable political vacuum. Its agenda also reflected the political situation, which is characterized, among other things, by the expiration of the Parliament's mandate and the economic, financial and social crisis and new developments in the case of our national question.

Therefore, the party was expected to restate its analyses and determine what are the political and organizational tasks that result from it. Let us also recall that this fourth session was taking place on the eve of the party's celebration of its 40 years of existence, of the tireless struggle of Moroccan revolutionaries for national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, democracy, progress and socialism.

Comrade Ali Yata then presented an extensive although clear, precise and comprehensive report to the Central Committee members, in which he expounded the party's analyses of the international situation, the evolution of inter-Maghreb relations, and the cause of Moroccan territorial unity, the economic and social crisis affecting the country, the political situation, and finally the party's tasks.

Pending the publication of this important document, we shall today publish its main lines.

#### Imperialistic Aggressions and Threats to Peace

As far as the international situation is concerned, the report confirms the lack of prospects in the face of the widespread crisis which is affecting the world capitalistic system, the continued development of socialist countries, and the rapid expansion of national liberation movements throughout the world. The U.S. imperialism and its western allies are now using the nuclear threat, exacerbating tensions, carrying out disinformation campaigns to maintain and strengthen their domination over the world at the risk of a nuclear war and military escalation. Washington's intention to install Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe, in spite of the opposition of European peoples, is aimed at imposing new concessions to the USSR and other socialist countries, at getting the Geneva negotiations into a deadlock and rejecting the responsibility for this on Moscow. The case of the South Korean airplane is an example of provocation that was aimed at tarnishing the image of the Soviet Union, although it did not succeed.

The problem of Euromissiles is a problem that concerns all peoples, including the Moroccan people, some of whose territory is still occupied by Spain which is about to join NATO. The Moroccan government must clarify its position in this respect.

Concerning Chad, the report condemns the U.S. and French interventions in this African country, as they took place at a time when an African solution was becoming possible.

The United States are also trying to impose their diktat throughout the world, in Central and South America, in Africa, in Asia as well as in the Near East and especially in Lebanon.

Thus, under the cover of a multinational force and in agreement with Paris, Washington is trying to bring to their knees the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and their national and progressive forces, in order to create a state allied to Israel in Lebanon, thus dealing the final blow to the Arab national liberation movement and eventually controlling the Near East and its oil wells and threatening directly the Soviet Union. But the Lebanese resistance is growing and has managed to impose the convening of a national reconciliation conference.

Faced with the aggressive intervention of U.S. imperialism, we must support national liberation movements and alliance with the socialist world and countries working for peace and justice. As far as the differences that have appeared within the Palestinian movement are concerned, the PPS calls for union, the respect for independence and non-interference in the affairs of our Palestinian brothers. Also, an end must be put to the war that is shedding so much Iraqi and Iranian blood.

## Evolution of Inter-Maghreb Relations

Approaching the question of relations between Arab Maghreb countries as related to the question of our territorial unity, Comrade Ali Yata recalled the many contacts between Maghreb leaders and the start at normalization that took place during the past few months and was greeted with enthusiasm by the whole world, with the exception of the United States (in the case of the Moroccan-Libyan rapprochement). These positive developments created a climate favorable to an improvement of the situation in Northwest Africa, and made it possible to give a new start to inter-Maghreb cooperation, all the more so as the Nairobi resolutions concerning the organization of the referendum on Moroccan West Sahara were accepted and reaffirmed by all parties.

However, Algerian leaders soon threw back into question this positive process. Again, we are witnessing base diplomatic maneuvers against Morocco. Actually, Algeria did not change its strategy which consisted in encouraging the creation of a rump state on Moroccan Saharan soil. Military aggression and diplomatic campaigns having failed to get the better of Morocco, Algiers had to change its tactics. Instead of helping in implementing the Nairobi resolution, Algeria tried to impose the SDAR [Saharan Democratic Arab Republic] on the OAU, at the risk of destroying the pan-African organization. Algeria is now trying to force our country to engage into direct negotiations with mercenaries; it is also trying to remove this African question from the OAU by asking for a French intervention.

Actually, Morocco's opponent in this case is none other than the Algerian government which fears that the referendum will confirm the fact that West Sahara is Moroccan.

In Morocco, the report regrets that national unanimity on the national cause was placed on the back burner and asks that new impetus be given to this cause, in association with all national political forces.

## The Economic Crisis: A Danger to Our Independence

The report then goes on to analyze the economic, financial and social crisis with which our country is struggling--the most dangerous crisis since independence. This crisis is characterized by a decline of production in all sectors, economic stagnation, a sharp decline of exports, the deterioration of the foreign debt which now is estimated at 10 billion dollars, and other equally serious symptoms. Morocco is one of the countries in the world with the largest foreign debt.

Officials like to blame the world crisis, the rise of the dollar and oil prices. Actually, the crisis is the result of the liberal policy followed by successive governments which decided to borrow based on erroneous calculations. Morocco's dependence on capitalistic financial institutions therefore increased and is now endangering our national independence. Our country must apply for a rescheduling of its debt and has reached a critical threshold as it is now borrowing to finance its operating budget, not just for national development or productive investments. To this we should add the increased deficit of the trade balance at a time when our exports cover no more than 47 percent of our imports, a

situation which should prove extremely hard to straighten out as the entry of Spain and Portugal into the Common Market will cause new problems.

Such a situation requires drastic and radical measures, not the partial and unpopular measures adopted recently by the authorities, whose main effects were to compromise the workers' past gains and further harm the country's economy. Thus, in compliance with International Monetary Fund injunctions, the government reduced operating expenditures, increased the prices of staple products, devalued the dirham, etc.

This is having tragic social consequences: the deterioration of the purchasing power of the masses and the extension of unemployment are the effects most strongly felt by the working class. Although the drought contributed to the deterioration of the employment situation, it does not explain the many closings of factories, mines and other production units. In addition, at a time when there is a freeze on wages, we are witnessing a general explosion of prices for goods and services, which was decided by the government. Therefore, as the year draws to a close, we can expect an inflation rate of 25 percent! These abusive price increases, legal and illegal, are to be blamed on the government coalition and the parliamentary groups pledged to it, which have approved the budget amendments dictated by the International Monetary Fund.

#### A New Policy to Avoid the Worst

Faced with such a situation, one alternative exists. It was formulated by our party's Third Congress last March. There is no issue to the crisis under the government program, which led to bankruptcy and a deadlock.

As far as the economic and social crisis is concerned, we must do all we can to prevent it from getting worse. Analyzing the disastrous effects of election fraud last 10 June, the author of the report again mentions the need to provide the country with a new House of Representatives within a reasonable period of time and under conditions of fairness and integrity, conditions which the PPS already formulated on previous occasions.

Considering the present government's incompetence, lack of imagination, lack of concern and bad reputation, the USFP was called upon to contribute in managing the country's affairs. Actually, the solution to the crisis, recovery, does not lie in reshuffling the present government with another political force, even one from the opposition. In our opinion, what is needed is to break once and for all with the present policy, to analyze the causes of the crisis and define new choices.

In addition to the political crisis, there is the weakness of the national movement and the lack of union of leftist forces, as well as the paralysis of trade unions and other mass organizations. Not to mention the proliferation of social ills such as corruption, nepotism, drug addiction, moral decay, etc. We should not wonder if discontent and frustration are gaining ground among the masses.

## Political Tasks Required for REcovery

In concluding, Comrade Ali Yata stressed the need for our party to fully shoulder its responsibilities and to fight vigorously all feelings of defeatism and despair. The party must accomplish considerable tasks:

- it must work to mobilize the people and unite all forces which aim at a recovery, in the context of a national pact focussed on the national cause and the domestic front;
- it must work to establish a national coalition government with high moral standards, a competent and representative government that will see to it that free and democratic elections are organized;
- it must unite leftist forces, which must play a dynamic part and act as a catalyst;
- it must lead the union, workers and students movement out of the rut in which it now finds itself by fighting bureaucracy and all forms of opportunism.

For its part, the PPS will rely on the mobilization of the masses, with the working class as a leader, to accomplish these urgent and vital tasks.

In concluding, Comrade Ali Yata announced the party's decision to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Moroccan revolutionary movement with all the solemnity that such a historical event deserves.

A serious and responsible debate followed this important report which was adopted unanimously. Comrade Abdelouahed Souheil presented a draft resolution which was also approved by the Central Committee. We shall review the debate in detail in our next issues.

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CSO: 4519/24

## BRIEFS

LOAN AGREEMENT SIGNED--Under an agreement signed at the Islamic Development Bank's Jeddah headquarters in October, Morocco will receive \$25m, to finance oil imports. Morocco was also granted Moroccan dinars 26m (\$3.6m) to help pay for cement plant project in Casablanca. An earlier agreement signed in June between the IDB and Morocco's Ministry of Awqaf and Religious Affairs will involve Bank participation in the development of land owned by Al Awqaf in Marakesh. The IDB's participation in this project amounts to MD21.3m (\$3m). This project is considered the first in a programme through which the Bank will participate in the development of Awqaf property in certain Muslim member countries to enable Waqf authorities realise their objectives. To date, the IDB has granted \$78.63m to Morocco. [Text] [East Burnham ARABIA THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English No 27, Nov 83 p 61]

CSO: 4500/14

## SUDAN

### BRIEFS

AIRWAYS CONVERTED TO PRIVATE COMPANY--President Numayri, in republican decrees issued yesterday, disbanded the state-owned Sudan Airways and converted it into a private company. According to the decrees, shares of the new air transport company may be held by national and foreign private and public sectors and by cooperative and mixed sectors. Assets and obligation of the disbanded air line would be taken over by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, the decrees stated. According to the decrees, a committee has formed under the chairmanship of Defense State Minister Fathi 'Umar Abu-al-Hasan to count the disbanded airline's assets and its obligation and undertake its administration. Sudan Airways employees would serve on secondment basis with the new company. [Text] [JN071115 Khartoum SUNA in English 1020 GMT 7 Nov 83]

NEW COMMISSIONER APPOINTED--President Ja'far Muhammad Numayri has issued a decree appointing John Loul as commissioner of the Sobat Province in the Upper Nile region in southern Sudan to replace Luigi Adok who was relieved from his position by a decree yesterday. [Text] [JN071115 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1025 GMT 7 Nov 83]

CSO: 4500/15

## TUNISIA

### SUSPENSION OF COMMUNIST PAPER DENOUNCED

Tunis L'AVENIR in French No 31 Nov 83, p 4

[Article by Ismaïl Boulahya: "Dangerous Turning"]

[Text] I cannot agree with a word you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it."

Above and beyond any pretexts which may be cited in an effort to justify it, the decision to suspend a political newspaper is a grave act with untoward implications, not the least of which is its affront to public opinion, here and abroad. How, given these conditions, are we to interpret the government's decision to impose a 6-month suspension of publication on our brother in the media, AL-TARIQ AL-JIHAD, official organ of the Tunisian Communist Party? Is this act yet another turning-point, whose as yet unforeseeable consequences could turn awry the development of the situation now under way in Tunisia?

Or ought we rather -- knowing that the move to restore the Communist Party's status as a legitimate organization, and to allow publication of its paper, AL-TARIQ AL-JIHAD, was taken by the head of state himself, and that at the time it took a number of people in high places of government by surprise -- attribute the decision to suspend it to an unauthorized measure that somehow escaped the notice of the government's proper decision-makers?

It is, in any event, mistaken to believe that the proper choice is to harass and gag the opposition to prevent its informing the public of the distressing drift that invites proliferation of theft and corruption. The solution to that problem must be sought in far different quarters.

Only by relentlessly ferreting out those responsible for the deterioration can the source of the evil be found and its causes eradicated.

Tunisia's credibility and security -- which are the proper concern of all Tunisians -- would benefit greatly by such action, as would the esteem in which the government is held.



There are also some among us whose political attitudes are mired in the traditional hidebound approach summed up in the old saw: "To make a young wife behave with proper respect and decorum, you must beat her cat."

This kind of thinking flouts the intelligence of the younger generation. Today's boys and girls, who are the strength and vigor of our independent Tunisia, have their eyes wide open.

In making their decisions as to what is permissible and what is not, they display innovative minds rooted in an outlook on life whose essence is faith and a scorn for the passive role.

As we denounce the seizure and suspension of newspapers and as we make common cause with the Communist Party which is the victim today, we know that the same tactics may be turned tomorrow on other targets.

This is why we call upon those whose hearts are not yet deadened to the pulse of patriotism and every thought of concern for the good of Tunisia to make the leap of clear-sightedness and wisdom and spare this nation from a repetition of the bitter trials that brought us to the time and circumstances of 26 January 1978.

Instead of publishing for the good of the country, the media in those days were the creature of the prime minister, whom he handed over to the tender mercies of the ineffable Mr Mustapha Masmoudi and his repressive press laws, which hung over our heads like the sword of Damocles.

As we contemplate this latest move, beginning with the suspension of AL-TARIQ AL-JADID, our concern runs as deep as our conviction that this decision is detrimental to Tunisia's interests and its stability. Inasmuch as our country is preparing now to welcome dozens of journalists to cover the official visit of President Francois Mitterrand, whose government has found room for members of the French Communist Party in its council chamber, it is certainly permissible to question at least the timing of this most recent assault on freedom of the press.

Does not this suspension, and the legitimate concerns it arouses, bid fair to focus the keenest attention of our colleagues in the international press?

We believe that we should have, and ought now to call the attention of these observers, who will be most welcome, to our vital issues and to our determination to make the Tunisia-France summit meeting a meaningful step toward affirmation of the new climate of comity to which we mutually aspire.

Meanwhile, it is important for us to deal with the problems facing us, without resorting to pretext or subterfuge. If we are to face the future with determination, we absolutely must mobilize every Tunisian citizen, even as we lay aside any differences that might divide us.

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CSO: 4519/22

RACISM IN LANGUAGE DEPLORED

Tunis L'AVENIR in French N° 31, Nov 83 pp 44, 45

[Article by Alia Tabai, Ecôle Normale Supérieure, Bizerte]

[Text] We shall have to tune our ears to hear what we are actually saying, to find how often we unthinkingly fall into linguistic habits we have inherited. But do it we must, even though the original pejorative or insulting content has been largely blurred and softened.

This headline asks a simple question which may well evoke overly vehement reactions. Relax: all we are trying to do is to single out, in our everyday speech, the patterns that perpetuate a kind of thinking that by rights should no longer exist, and to root out of our own discourse anything that robs the Black Tunisian of a portion of his dignity. The racism so blatantly endemic under other skies than ours is not found among us in its virulent forms. There is no question about that.

Yet, what words do we use to refer to a Black? "Oucif," first; then "Kalouche," (the equivalent of the French "négro" [nigger]). Our everyday speech still pejoratively lumps together the status of Black domestic servant and Black citizen: "I'm not your 'chouchane!'" (your slave), meaning "Don't order me around!" And we hear "Bazoul khadem," the name for a variety of grape whose plumpness and color are evocative of the breast of a Black matron. "Oucif" conveys the double meaning of Black slave and domestic servant. (1)

What expressions does Abdelaziz Laroui, chronicler of the Beldi attitude and, by extension, that of the lower classes, use to describe the Black characters in his short stories? "ach-Chifa chaffa ou l'mankar qad as-qouffa" (thick lips and nostrils big as bushel baskets!)

"Oucifa mchallta khaddîhâ ou lâbsa choulîqa hamrâ" (a Black woman with painted cheeks wearing a red head-cloth): red is supposed to be all Blacks' favorite color (2).

"Oucifa haqq sâa noukjâla" (a Black woman worth 3 kilos of the regular military bran bread ration), a valuable clue as to the going price on the slave market).

Tahar Khemiri reports in his book of Tunisian proverbs and sayings that:

"At-tefla ou l'khâdem, ra'youhoum âdem" (Young girls and slaves have no brains at all), and that the ultimate misfortune is to be "asouad ou fahhâm ours mou sakht Allah," (to be a Black charcoal-vendor named "God's Curse"), an expression used to describe somebody afflicted with every conceivable physical and mental defect). (3)

That brings us full circle to Ali Douagi, whose caustic wit is often compared with Galadima, leader of a Black musical group who uses his songs to sweeten the sufferings of his Black brothers (4).

The familiar "Al-ouahla fî l'kahla kaanna al-bîda talqa rajel," (It's very hard to marry off a dark daughter, but a fair one will find a husband), which originally expressed parental concern over a daughter perceived as "too dark" (5) seems to have filtered into the argot of professional gamblers at chkobba (a card game), and it is also used to describe any painful situation from which there is no exit. This shows the ways in which our everyday usage of expressions which were originally racist in connotation in other contexts tends to rob them of malice and render them innocuous.

#### Banga Ousfane, Diwane Ouargliya

Even so, we have to go back into history to underscore the way traditional Tunisian attitudes discriminated between two kinds of Blacks: those who were born in the Saharan oases had dark complexions, but not dark enough to make them real "niggers": they were the "Ouargliya" (named for the Ouargla oasis in Algeria). The others were the "Ousfane," former slaves and their descendants from the far side of the Sahara, mainly from Sudan (6).

The Ouargliya became "khaddam" (house servants), "grâsen" (errand-boys), and "hammâla" (porters). They also played a major role in the domestic hierarchy of the Beys' ancient Hammam-Lif palace.

The Ousfane, however, formed a guild in the capital, headed by the "bach agha" or "al-hâkem fî," the Bey's chief eunuch. This guild was a group apart from the generality of the Muslim population by reason of its worship of the Marabout [holy man] Sidi Saad, whose "qobba" was located on the Mornag plain, and of the Stambâli Brotherhood, whose rites embraced a number of animist and fetishist practices common to Black Africans. Its devotions involved playing various musical instruments, and generated considerable noise and disorderly behavior. (7)

Right here, we must pause to dwell a little on the propitiatory role attributed to Blacks (8). Noise is an essential part of the Stambâli rites. Although the word is almost synonymous with "shouting" and "raising the roof," [Zawadowski] tells us that "the niggers have a monopoly on it."

And even though "Stambâli has come to serve as a description of any noisy festive gathering, it is really held to frighten off evil spirits (jnoun) and drive them away with its din. By expansion, Blacks are viewed, by reason of the racket they make in their processions, as very powerful propitiatory agents. People used to invite them into their houses to stage clamorous "bangas" that would drive out the jnouns.

Furthermore, their dark skins endowed them, in the popular mind, with the power of the "evil eye": "Itayrou l'nafs, al-ayn." To be greeted with a "good morning" by a Black was considered lucky, and to dream of one was an omen of good fortune, or "saad."

Generally regarded as "lazy," a quality believed to be part of their nature, Blacks were relegated to marginal trades, and thus were, to all intents and purposes, marginal to the local economy.

Aside from this, they held low-ranking jobs as domestic servants or valets: the women worked as prostitutes or as "hammâm hârza" (masseuses to women); they were "bou Saadiya," strolling exotic dancers, or weavers of the conical straw lids used as "mkabb" for platters of couscous, or crushers of "bourghoul," or they were hawkers of "tikra" (sorghum-flour dumplings) and "oudaa" (amulets decorated with cowrie shells).

Blacks were also reputed to be irresponsible, scatterbrained, and hot-tempered ("ousfane" is still current usage to describe furious wrath), noisy, and passionately fond of dancing: "Al-ousfane mahoum ihebbou ch-chtih ou l'rdih." (10)

All these traits (make that hereditary taints) combined to make Blacks "by-products," ersatz white men. Nowadays, though, most of this attitude has fallen out of use.

The historical reminder is important, even so (11). For that matter, the language itself is striving to soften the pain and bitterness it might cause. It cites prestigious comparisons: "Sidi al-nabi asmar" (the Prophet was dark-skinned). It invokes prophetic tradition: "Kullukum sawasiyah kaasnâ al-musht" (You are all as like one another as the teeth of a comb), and "La fadla li'Arabi 'ala 'Ajami illa bi'l taqwa" (An Arab's only superiority over a non-Arab is his piety.) (12).

It would be interesting to dwell at more length on the already-mentioned Stambâli, and the ceremonies peculiar to the Sidi-Saad Brotherhood. That might be the subject of another article...

# FOOTNOTES

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- (5) MARÇAIS, William, and GUIGA, Abderhamane: Textes Arabes de Takroun Glossaire, Paris, Geuthner, 1960, vol VII, p 3385
- (6) ZADOWSKI, Gaston: "The Role of Blacks in the Tunisian Population," in "EN TERRE D'ISLAM," No 19, 1942, pp 146-156
- (7) PAQUES, Viviana: "The Cosmic Tree in Popular Thought and Daily Life in Northwest Africa," Paris, MUSÉE DE L'HOMME, 1964, pp 493-495
- (8) CERULLI, Enrico: "Zâr" in the Encyclopedia of Islam, Leyde, Brill, 1st edition, vol IV, 1934, pp 1286-1287
- (9) Zawadowski, loc. cit.
- (10) LAROUÏ, loc. cit.
- (11) LEWIS, Bernard: Race and Color in Islamic Countries, Paris, Payot, 1982, 163 pp
- (12) WENSINK, A.J.: Concordances and Indices of Muslim Tradition, Leyde, Brill, 1969, vol. v, p 300, quoting Ahmed Ibn Hanbal, and vol. V, p 411

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CSO: 4519/22

## BAHRAIN

### BRIEFS

KUWAITI FUND LOAN--Manama, 12 Nov (WAKH)--An agreement was signed in Manama today between Bahrain and the Kuwaiti Fund for Arab Economic Development [KFAED] whereby the KFAED will grant Bahrain a loan of 9.5 million Kuwaiti dinars, or about 12.5 million Bahraini dinars, to contribute in expanding and improving the Bahrain International Airport. The period of the loan is 20 years, including a 5-year grace period, and will be paid back in 30 semi-annual installments, the first of which will be due on 15 March 1988 and the last of which will be due on 15 December 2002. Interest on the loan is 3.5 percent with 0.5 percent as services and cost charges. [Excerpts] [GF121048 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0900 GMT 12 Nov 83]

CSO: 4404/64

## NEW DISCOVERIES BOOST OIL RESERVES

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 30 Sep 83 p 6

[Article by Qasim Mahdi: "At Oil Minister's Press Conference: Discovery of New Oil Reserves in Our Country; New Projects Continue Despite War; Role of Iraq in OPEC, OIAPEC Unchanged"]

[Text] Qasim Ahmad Taqi, minister of oil, replied to a question posed by AL-THAWRAH during the press conference which he held yesterday at the Ministry of Oil building concerning threats by Iranian officials to blow up the Iraqi-Turkish pipeline. He said: "These rash statements prove that the Iranian regime is ignorant of the simplest geographic principles. We are extremely confident that the tyrannical Iranian enemy will not be able to conquer the soil of our dear nation. How will he reach a pipeline which lies hundreds of kilometers from the border and crosses rugged terrain and difficult paths?"

He added: "The sons of Iraq today are standing like a mighty wall to block all foreign aggression. We are confident that the iron will of our people under the leadership of our president Saddam Husayn will make it impossible for the evil Iranian enemy to achieve his dreams."

As to the achievements of the petroleum sector during the war years, he said: "It is well-known that our oil installations were the next goal of the Persian enemy, after the military installations. Therefore, this sector has been subjected to hostile aircraft and heavy artillery fire. Members of this sector worked under a constant hail of bombs to keep up their productivity and through extraordinary efforts were able to supply the military sectors with the desired supplies and also were able to fill other economic needs to a certain extent, in addition to the needs of the citizens. In the field of exporting oil, the export operation continued from available ports after the southern facilities were closed and after the Syrian regime took its disgraceful steps to shut down the pipeline crossing its territory. Only one outlet remains, and this is the Iraqi-Turkish pipeline, which has been utilized at levels not previously attained. That was done through persistent efforts to achieve maximum utilization for export purposes. Our work is now aimed at expanding the capacity of this pipeline. We have been working on this expansion and hope that work will be completed by the end of May. Its export capacity will then be 1 million barrels a day."



The oil minister explained that the Iraqi technical cadres have been able to discover new oil reserves of 59 billion barrels, and there are all but definite reserves of 46 billion barrels, with definite reserves of 40 billion barrels. We can say that reserves will amount to 100 billion barrels. Previously announced figures were no more than 42 billion barrels, and exploratory operations are still continuing to discover oil potential."

He confirmed: "Other daily activities to implement new projects are continuing in the fields of producing, storing, and distributing oil. I would like to mention that the oil organizations are far more active than they had been before the war. Although 40 percent of their cadres are working for the war effort, their production has often doubled."

As to the technical aid and expertise offered by Iraq to its Arab sisters, especially in this case, the minister said: "In its dealings with its Arab sisters, Iraq acts from its deep-rooted national principles. In spite of the war which has been forced upon us and our need for cadres, we have continued to offer aid and support to the Arab countries. This has included sending a seismic group to Jordan to offer its expertise in surveying and drilling for oil. This group is still working there, and we hope that it will achieve its goal of discovering oil in our sister country. Also, Iraqi cadres have offered aid to the Republic of North Yemen and Morocco, in addition to its joint operation of the Iraqi-Somali refinery. We are also training Arab cadres, either at the work sites or at the Iraqi Oil Training Center. We are honored that our dear Iraq is the site of the Arab oil institute for training Arab cadres, and we have placed all of our potential at the service of this national institute."

The minister turned to Iraq's role in the OPEC and OAPEC organizations. He said: "First, we believe that if OPEC united the efforts of its members, it would be able to serve its peoples and mankind. This organization played a prominent role in resisting monopolistic companies and the interests of the imperialistic states which were taking advantage of prices which were too low to build and develop their economies at the expense of the people who owned the wealth. Therefore, we will continue to work to preserve its role by opposing the plans of the International Energy Agency and its dependent agencies. However, unfortunately there are some members who have started to pursue destructive activities within the organization just as they do in other organizations, and these include the Iranian and Libyan regimes. They have tried more than once to weaken the organization's role and have not abided by its decisions, which has hurt the interests of the other states. The decision to lower prices last March and flood the world markets with large quantities of oil at prices lower than the officially approved prices paved the way for the price reduction which benefited the treasuries of the industrial states and hurt the treasuries of the producing states. As for OAPEC, Iraq's role will continue to be to work to strengthen OAPEC's role in integrating the Arab economy, especially in the field of oil reserves."

7587

CSO: 4404/17

## GOVERNMENT GIVES LAND TO AL-ANBAR CITIZENS

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 25 Sep 83 p 7

[Article by Husayn al-Falahi: "Governor of al-Anbar tells AL-THAWRAH: 25,000 Residential Plots of Land Prepared for Citizens; Distribution to Begin in 5 Days"]

[Text] In accordance with President Saddam Husayn's directives to provide suitable housing for citizens by distributing residential plots of land to them, the committee formed for this purpose in al-Anbar Governorate has finished preparing 600 residential plots in the center of the governorate, and 700 in the district of al-Fallujah, 2,800 in al-'Abidi, 2,600 in Kubaysah, 2,600 in al-Karbala', 1,400 in Rawah, 2,300 in Hadithah, 1,700 in al-Ratabah, 1,700 in al-Baghdadi, 1,600 in Hit, and 2,600 in Barawanah.

Work is continuing to prepare 1,200 plots in al-Karamah subdistrict and 1,600 in al-Saqlawiyah. Plans for these plots have been sent to the communities for approval by the technical agency.

The visit of Muslim Hadi Musa, undersecretary of the Ministry of Local Government, to the district of al-Qa'im concentrated on preparing 1,600 plots to be distributed to the citizens of the district.

Qasim Yahya al-Rajab, governor of al-Anbar, confirmed that during his interview with our reporter. He added: "The plots will be distributed to the citizens by the end of the month in the center of the governorate, followed by the district of al-Fallujah and the other districts and subdistricts. The committee set several periods for submitting requests for plots of land to give an opportunity to the largest number of citizens, who were informed by the party cadres in all regions, especially the families of those missing in action and prisoners of war. We have relied on all of the information media to notify the citizens to submit requests."

Concerning the conditions of distribution, the governor said: In addition to well-known conditions and priorities which have been published more than once, we have relied basically on birthplace in allocating land. Also, plots of land will be allocated to peasants in the villages and the countryside. They will be supplied with construction supplies for building through forms prepared for this purpose, similar to building permits."

When asked about the number of applicants for the residential plots, the governor replied: "There are 25,000 plots to be distributed throughout the governorate, but the number of plots varies from one district to another, as does the number of applicants. For example, while there were twice as many applicants as there were plots to be given away in the center of the governorate, there were not enough applicants in al-'Abidi, and we had to extend the application period."

The governor of al-Anbar concluded the interview by saying that the committee will allow 2 weeks for objections [in order] to serve the public interest and ensure that no citizen is denied his rights.

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CSO: 4404/17

## BRIEFS

DAHUK PROJECTS--The Governorate of Dahuk has witnessed the implementation of a large number of various service projects which have played a part in the operation to encourage development, in keeping with the ambitions of the leadership of the party and the revolution. There have been 1,085 projects completed by the local board in the governorate since 1981, in all regions of the governorate. Namiq Raqib Muhammad, governor of Dahuk, announced this to the Iraqi News Agency. He said that these projects include 465 elementary, intermediate and secondary schools and kindergartens, in addition to health centers, modern villages, and various government buildings. He added that the service projects include building 6,678 housing units for members of departments and citizens throughout the districts and subdistricts of the governorate. The governor mentioned that the aforementioned projects also included building and paving a number of roads and factories for concrete products, handicrafts, and gypsum in addition to several other projects connected with developing tourism in the governorate. [Text] [Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 24 Sep 83 p 6] 7587

PUBLIC HOUSING--The General Institute for Industrial Housing has constructed a group of buildings and housing units in the governorates of Maysan, al-Anbar, al-Qadisiyah and Dhi Qar. AL-THAWRAH learned this from the general director of the institute, who added that work is continuing on 10,000 housing units at their work sites for workers in the industrial projects in the various governorates of the country, with the intent of creating employment stability and reducing the intensity of the housing crisis. In al-Qadisiyah, 756 modern housing units were constructed, with each unit ranging from 110 to 130 square meters. The director concluded by saying: "The Institute for Industrial Housing Projects has drawn up plans for the governorates of Baghdad, Ninawa, Salah-al-Din, al-Ta'mim, al-Najaf and Karbala' which will be implemented in stages according to the institute's plan." [Text] [Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 25 Sep 83 p 7] 7587

CROP PRODUCTION INCREASES--As a result of their first pilot agricultural experiment, Iraqi farmers have been able to achieve a very great increase in crop production which has surpassed all international experiments in this field. The pilot program relied on nutrients and coverings for the earth; crops were not irrigated for a period of a month or two, depending on the type of plant, in the hottest weather of July and August. Dr 'Abd-al-Hadi Jawad al-Rayyis is a chemist with the Bureau of Applied Agricultural Research in the

Ministry of Agriculture and Agricultural Reclamation, which ran the experiment on its farm. He said that the experiment was successful in preventing land from being ruined by the accumulation of salt on its surface, in fighting weeds, and in screening sunlight to reduce the evaporation of water from the land by means of coverings on the earth. The coverings also raise soil temperature, especially in the winter. He explained that the new experiment saved from 80 to 90 percent of the farmer's effort in fighting weeds and helped the farm family to cultivate twice the agricultural acreage, which may reach a minimum of 10 dunums. As to the method of feeding crops and increasing their growth, he explained that they begin first by soaking the seeds in nutrients before sowing them to produce very rapid germination. After that they are transplanted. The seeds are infused with nutrients to produce rapid root growth to increase the ratio of root mass to plant mass. The seeds and seedlings are then planted in openings in the covering over the soil. After 2 or 3 weeks they are sprayed with fertilizer and substances which promote fertility and speed up flowering. He said that the experiment was applied to melons, cucumbers, shrubs, eggplant, okra and peppers. It should be noted that Dr 'Abd-al-Hadi Jawad al-Rayyis had conducted a successful experiment to grow tomatoes in plastic tents using the methods of ground coverings and nutrients. He doubled the production of tomatoes and also eliminated the disease of blossom end rot which strikes tomatoes. [Text] [Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 29 Sep 83 p 7] 7587

4404/17

## MASSIVE SHEKEL PRINTING EXCEEDS EXPECTATIONS

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 2 Nov 83 p 1

[Article by Avi Temkin]

[Text]

Israel's foreign currency reserves fell by a record \$176 million (IS15 billion) during October, the Bank of Israel reported yesterday.

In the course of the month the government printed an unprecedented IS31b. in bank notes, of which some IS26.5b. was used to purchase bank shares under the government's agreement with the major banks.

Since the start of the fiscal year in April, the government has printed some IS72b. Thus, in the first half of the 1983-84 fiscal year, the Treasury has already printed IS2b. more than it intended to print in the entire fiscal year.

The Treasury argued yesterday, however, that the true monetary injection last month was "only IS4.5b.," not IS31b. The ministry was separating the IS26.5b. it injected into the bank shares from the IS4.5b. used for other purposes.

It conceded, however, that "despite the small monetary injection there is a need for the immediate implementation of a large cut in government spending in the coming months."

Officials admitted that this cut, as part of a stringent monetary policy, would probably aggravate firms' liquidity problems, cause a large rise in unemployment and a fall in production levels. They stressed, however, that such a policy was the only solution to the country's economic problems.

Despite the Treasury's explanations as to the reasons for the size of the October monetary injection, Bank of Israel officials were united in the view that the injection constituted a virtual flood. They pointed out that the majority of the sum printed was probably used by the public to purchase dollars.

The central bank would not state the exact amount of foreign currency purchased by the public in October, but estimates have put the figure at between \$150m. and \$200m.

The \$176m. fall in reserves constituted the fourth consecutive monthly fall in their level. At the end of April, the country's foreign currency reserves stood at some \$3.2b. Since then they have fallen by some \$420m. to a total at the end of October of \$2.8b.

Bank of Israel observers said the publication of these reserve figures showed how strongly the bank felt about the need for an immediate cut

in the government budget. "Had the bank chosen to conceal the true level of the reserves it could easily have done so by taking overnight loans abroad," they said.

"This was common practice some months ago, and there would have been no problem had the bank chosen to repeat the operation at the end of October," they added.

Bank of Israel officials later confirmed this observation, stating that the bank did indeed want to alert the government and the public to its view that immediate measures must be taken.

Central bank officials said they would force the government authorities to follow a very restrictive monetary policy in the coming months. Commercial banks will find it difficult to grant credit to the public since monetary loans from the Bank of Israel to the banking system will be reduced by some IS10b. in the next few days. In addition, officials said, it has been recommended that the commercial banks raise the interest rates on overdrafts by some 25 per cent.

Despite this, the officials said that interest rates in the economy over the next few months would still be lower than the rate of inflation, since price increases were expected to be in the region of 15 to 20 per cent.

## COMMUNICATIONS' CHIEF SCIENTIST POSITION PROVES PROBLEMATIC

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 1 Nov 83 p 5

[Article by Judy Siegel-Itzkovich]

[Text]

THE COMMUNICATIONS Ministry has implemented a 1968 proposal to appoint a chief scientist with a half coffee-half tea solution. On the one hand, it did not supply the chief scientist with enough backing and directives to get his job done properly. On the other, it failed to determine whether he was a worthwhile addition to the ministry and if not, to dismantle his office.

The comptroller relates a sad story of deep frustration in the chief scientist's office at the failure of ministry management to listen to his proposals and reorganize the office so that it would be effective.

The Katchalsky Committee recommended 15 years ago that a chief scientist be appointed to help the minister design and implement programmes relating to research and development in the communications field. Initially, 100 staffers were included in his unit, and research laboratories were built. In 1974, there were only 24 jobs slots.

The comptroller found that the ministry had never delineated clearly the chief scientist's responsibilities and authority, nor its

relationships with other ministry units. As a result of lack of direction and equipment, the office expended only a portion of its annual allocations.

The chief scientist, over the years, completed only some of the projects he planned. Most of the office's budget was spent on salaries, rather than on studies and research projects. Most of the subjects dealt with were not vitally important, such as which sophisticated switching systems were preferable for ministry use. In November, 1982 there were only 16 staffers in the office.

THE CHIEF scientist himself appealed to management to define his jobs and responsibilities and to implement his plans, but with no result. In January 1979, he submitted a proposal for reorganization of the office. In November, 1980, he announced that if nothing were done, the unit would fall apart. In July, 1981, he complained about the lack of work. In November of that year, he presented the minister with another document on the structure and responsibilities needed for the

unit. In February 1982, he presented the minister with another proposal. In June of that year, the management finally began to discuss the unit, but no final decision was taken. In October, the chief scientist resigned. The minister accepted his resignation and three months later appointed a new chief scientist.

The chief scientist who resigned was especially frustrated by the lack of a go-ahead signal after his unit had invested IS4.5 million in a model for a control mechanism for public telephones. By the time he resigned, the ministry had still not decided whether it should be manufactured.

At the same time that the unit was nearly paralyzed, it hired outside experts to conduct research in various R&D projects, at the cost of hundreds of thousands of shekels.

The comptroller demanded that the ministry finally determine whether the chief scientist's unit is worthwhile, and if it is, that it be endowed with all the staff and resources necessary for it to operate satisfactorily.

— JUDY SIEGEL-ITZKOVICH

## HOSPITAL SERVICES TO BE OFFERED TO FOREIGNERS

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 1 Nov 83 p 6

[Text]

HAIFA. — The city's Rothschild Hospital will shortly offer its services to foreign nationals, hospital director Dov Golan said yesterday.

Under the scheme, patients who prefer being treated in Israel will be able to arrange their visits to the hospital through selected travel agents. Services will be provided in four main fields: orthopedic, ophthalmic, ear, nose and throat and cardiac tests on unborn babies.

Dr. Golan said Israel was known for its high standard of medical care, and the foreign patients could be treated at Rothschild for less than it would cost them in their own countries. It would provide additional income to help the hospital maintain and improve its services at a time of financial difficulty, he said.

Golan was speaking at a press conference to mark the visit of 120 leaders of the American Bnai Zion organization to the hospital yesterday.

Among the many humanitarian projects which the organization supports is the Rothschild Hospital's West Wing project. The apolitical group, which is celebrating its 75th anniversary this year, has raised \$750,000 towards the project.

Construction of the 11-storey structure has been completed, but its upper floors have not yet been furnished and equipped due to insufficient funds. The hospital, which has launched a public appeal, hopes the project, started in 1973, will be finished in three years.

Golan also announced that hospital staff will provide supervisory medical services for disabled war veterans at the Brith Shalom Beit Halochem community and rehabilitation centre, in French Carmel, which is due to open next spring. The centre is also supported by Bnai Zion.

CSO: 4400/61



## AIRPORT AUTHORITY BLAMED FOR INADEQUATE SAFETY

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 1 Nov 83 p 5

[Article by Joshua Brilliant]

[Text]

THE ISRAEL AIRPORT AUTHORITY has not taken the necessary measures required to make the country's skies safer to fly through, the State Comptroller reported.

The Authority had commissioned a reputable American company to advise what should be done and, in May 1979, the company recommended several measures be introduced immediately to secure air safety. However, three years had passed, and not one of them had been implemented fully.

One major proposal was to extend a runway running roughly from north to south, so that it could be used for incoming planes, and leave the east-west runway for departing aircraft only.

However, that plan had not been approved because of Transport Ministry reservations. The Ministry was mainly concerned with the possibility that it would have to compensate — even evacuate — the residents of two settlements who would suffer from the increased noise.

The advisory company suggested also that the airport's radar system be improved so that it could distinguish between incoming and outgoing planes; however, the same system is still in use.

Officials first considered improving the system purchased from Elta, and then decided to buy a new radar. But at the time the Comptroller completed his study — August 1982 — the Authority still did not have the data required to publish a tender.

The third major recommendation was to build a new control tower replacing the present one, which does not give a full view of the airport. That had not been done either. (The Authority reported, meanwhile, that it had acquired a new radar system, and that the structure being erected for it will eventually house the new control tower.)

THE COMPTROLLER criticized the Authority also for lack of coordination with the Air Force on the question of dividing Israel's air space between military and civilian aircraft.

Between July and December 1981 alone there were 18 near misses when military planes entered civilian airlines without prior coordination. They account for some 70 per cent of all near misses during that period, the report revealed.

The Airport Authority and the Air Force had agreed in February 1981 that they ought to divide the country's air space, and establish an independent body to examine accidents and near misses which would affect civilian traffic. However, by the end of 1982 that had not been done.

The Comptroller observed also that the Airport Authority had introduced a new airline to Eilat which passed near the Jordanian border, although a study had shown a relatively high probability for accidents there. (The probability was 1,600 accidents per 100m. flights. The international rate of accidents in the 1970s was 20 for every 100m. flights.) The route was opened even before all the necessary navigation instruments had been installed along the way, the report said.

— JOSHUA BRILLIANT

## REGULATIONS CONTROL STOCK TRANSACTIONS

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT &amp; MEMO in English No 42, 17 Oct 83 p 6

[Text]

The surge in business on Amman's stock exchange has meant that dealings will be computerised when the exchange moves to bigger premises early next year, according to Ibrahim Balbeisi, Assistant General Manager of the Amman Financial Market. The AFM, which is a government department, lists 92 Jordanian companies on its trading board and turnover in shares has risen from just JD 4 million (\$11 million) in 1978 to JD 128 million (\$352 million) last year. And turnover figures for 1983 will be even higher. Mr Balbeisi indicated: business done so far this year amounted to JD 116 million (\$319 million) and 1983 still has three months to run.

In addition to the listed companies, trading is permitted in shares of a further 13 companies on the AMF's over-the-counter market. This subsidiary market was set up to make a proper evaluation of their financial record and prospects before granting them listing on the big board. The AMF both regulates new share issues in Jordan and administers a secondary market for trading in securities.

Regulation of both markets is strict, according to Mr Balbeisi, with companies required to meet stringent requirements for financial statements as well as the disclosure of information that might affect trading in their shares. Companies are also required to have at least 50 per cent of their capital paid-up, Mr Balbeisi noted. Brokers were likewise obliged to meet stiff requirements before being permitted to trade on the AMF floor and this had resulted in the exchange maintaining an unblemished record for brokers meeting their commitments, Mr Balbeisi declared.

Once aim of the AMF has been to establish a broadly based market free of excessive speculation and the Jordanian authorities are anxious to avoid the frantic trading (and subsequent collapse) that was seen last year on Kuwait's unofficial Souq al-Manakh over-the-counter exchange for shares in Gulf companies. Settlement of trades must be done at the time the deal is struck and forward trading in shares is illegal, Mr Balbeisi said. Equally unlawful is trading on the basis of post-dated cheques, the principal feature of dealings on the Souq al-Manakh.

KUWAIT

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY VOTES TO PROTECT MEMBER

GF101114 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 9 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] Kuwait's National Assembly is standing behind one of its members, and will not lift his parliamentary immunity.

The assembly rejected a request from interior minister, Shaykh Nawwaf al-Ahmad to lift the immunity of Deputy Jasir al-Jasir, so he could face charges of defamation for remarks he made about municipality officials.

While winning the support of his colleagues, al-Jasir also came in for criticism from some assembly members. They said he should not abuse his parliamentary privilege, using his position to make attacks on others.

The assembly decision, by 28 votes to 18 with one abstention, went against a legal and legislative committee recommendation to meet the minister's request.

During the debate, members said that no deputy should be questioned about anything he said in the assembly, and his privilege was granted by the constitution.

The assembly also reviewed a letter from the head of a parliamentary committee set up to investigate al-Jasir's allegations about the municipality.

The committee chairman, deputy speaker, Ahmad al-Sadun, said the committee was still awaiting half of the 1,800 documents it required from the municipality.

Justice minister, Shaykh Salman Qu'ayid, said the documents would be submitted as soon as they could be prepared.

CSO: 4404/64

KUWAIT

LABOR OFFICIALS IN 'WORK PERMITS SCANDAL'

GF131149 Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 11 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] 'Isa Yasin, under secretary of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor, held an extraordinary meeting on 10 November which was attended by the ministry's assistant under secretaries. They discussed the confusion that has struck the ministry's apparatus, so much so that work at many departments has stopped as a result of the effect of the arrest of several employees of the Labor Department and their colleagues for their involvement in bribery, forgery and trade in work and residence permits.

AL-WATAN has learned that 17 employees have been referred to the public prosecutor's office on the charge of bribery, and that the competent authorities have taken wide-scale measures to pursue the parties that participated in this operation, within the ministry and outside it.

It was reported that the first thread that led to uncovering the operation was found when a businessman's application for work permits was suddenly rejected. Following his complaint to the competent authorities and the surveillance of a group of employees in the employment department, it transpired that there were malpractices in the department as a result of the moral weakness of some of the department's employees who were seeking illegal profit. It has been reported that the process of issuing work permits was abused, and that such permits were issued in return for sums of money that varied according to the nationality of the applicant workers. These sums ranged from 600 dinars for issuing a work permit for an Egyptian worker, to 2,000 dinars for permits for other expatriate workers.

AL-WATAN has also learned that the first culprit to be arrested for being involved in this scandal was an Egyptian national, Muhammad Ahmad Isma'il. A ministry source said that offices that have been bringing into the country servants and workers have been violating the Kuwaiti labor law, and yet the ministry has not done anything with regard to advertisements in the press on hiring expatriate labor.

It is reported that three senior officials of the ministry are involved in the work of the al-Manakh stock market. AL-Watan's sources do not rule out the possibility that any one of them or all of them may be involved in the trading with work permits.

CSO: 4404/64

SIGNIFICANCE OF RECENT MOUNTAIN BATTLES ASSESSED

Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 3 Oct 83 p 18

[Article: "A Bet on Two Horses Who Reject the Very Idea of a Race: How and Why Did the Mountain War Break Out?!"]

[Text] The cease-fire agreement may have ended the war in the mountain from the military point of view, but the very background of the war cannot be discussed in isolation from the image of the war which has been going on in Lebanon since 13 April 1975. Neither is it possible to speak of it on the basis of the logic which connects it totally and utterly with that series of warlike events referred to as the 8-year war. For Mount Lebanon has special characteristics which transcend descriptions of the general situation in Lebanon.

Moreover, despite all the vicious, bitter fighting going on in its isolated places and valleys, the mountain was considered up until recently the only region of safety in Lebanon. This mountain, which is inhabited mainly by the two most important factions which founded modern Lebanon, and by this we mean the Druze and Maronites, used to exist in a state of unannounced implicit concord resting on the following principles:

1. Neither side would be permitted to make any decision affecting the fate of the mountain and its people without the agreement and approval of the other side.
2. It was absolutely forbidden to create any abnormal situation in the mountain which would affect the unity of coexistence between the Druze and Maronite factions.
3. War was to be kept from the mountain by any permissible means! There was no harm in having the coast, with its great, important, principal cities like Sayda', Beirut and Tripoli, or the Biqa', with its important towns, be the theater of this war.
4. Should one of the two pillars of the mountain, Kamal Junblatt or Camille Sham'un, be unable to control the situation, then the other party remaining in the mountain would be considered responsible for maintaining balance and coexistence.

It was this unannounced, implicit agreement which led Prime Minister Rashid Karami to ask one day in 1976 why the war was encompassing all of Lebanon but not breaking out in the Shuf mountains. Did this mean--and these are Prime Minister Karami's words--that the war was a game being played by Camille and Kamal?

#### The Answer Came After the Disappearance of Those with Political Power

This kind of question was not merely a clever commentary by former Prime Minister Rashid Karami. Rather, it was also a reflection of the real situation on the ground. Kamal Junblatt, who led the Lebanese National Movement, knew that if a war were to break out in the mountain, it would shake the Lebanese equation to its core and then transcend that equation to affect the region, eventually reaching dimensions the extent of which no one could realize. Therefore, as we know, he ordered the arrest one day of a group of his own followers, simply because they had beaten a Maronite living at Bayt al-Din. As for Camille Sham'un, his lines of contact to Kamal Junblatt were really never cut until the assassin's bullets cut down his historic adversary. Perhaps the clearest evidence of the unannounced, secret alliance between the two men is what President Camille said when he was informed of the assassination of Kamal Junblatt. He hit one palm against the other and repeated the well known phrase: "Kamal has gone, and with him the mountain."

It seems that the plot on the Lebanese scene has not been fully played out yet, except through one indicator, which the Lebanese have begun to read with perfect comprehension. We mean strikes against people with influential political decision-making power in Lebanon.

Just as Kamal Junblatt was assassinated, the political decision-making power in the hands of Camille Sham'un was assassinated as well. The 7th of July Movement, which ended up liquidating Nammur al-Ahrar and gave the Phalangist War Council absolute control over the Maronite scene, stood in political terms for eliminating Camille Sham'un's political power. He was the patriarch of Maronist politics from 1943 till 1980.

The operation did not stop here. Rather, it proceeded to bring down another of the poles of political power in Lebanon. We mean Col Raymond Iddih, president of the National Bloc party and one of the most influential people in the Jubayl region, until he was forced to flee to Paris.

When secondary people take over the reins of power, it becomes harder to control the results. In the Maronite community, the Phalange party brought forth new, effective leaders as it became more like an army. No sooner had Bashir al-Jumayyil appeared than he had total control over both streets and weapons in the arena of Maronite political activity. His was the image of the student fascinated by rifles and military uniforms. Indeed, the position of leadership brought forth a man capable of founding a pseudo-state similar in its organization and structure to the extant legitimate state in Lebanon.

As for Walid Junblatt, who took over his father's leadership position when al-Shaykh al-'Aql of the Druze sect put on his shoulders the mantle of his

father, who had been laid out in the square of al-Mukhtarah Castle, he also showed political and military energy not even his father had known before. His father used to treat him as no more than his only son. Walid Junblatt worked with the new position he occupied as a Junblatti leader of the Druze sect and head of the Progressive Socialist Party in a manner different from the way in which his father had dealt with things.

He did not think only of avenging his father, for the assassination was a matter of importance to the whole Junblatt clan. Therefore, he refrained from naming his father's killers when the late Boumedienne asked him three times, "Who killed your father, Walid?"

His answer every time was: "I dont' know."

From the very start, he dealt with the inherited negative aspects of the Progressive Socialist Party, carrying out fundamental changes on the leadership level. He also re-armed the party. The information we have speaks of two important matters in this regard. The first is his agreement with the Soviet Union to have a number of his military cadres trained in the use of tank weapons and the administration of detachments. The second was his agreement with the Algerians, which was a big deal for medium and light arms.

#### The Two Powers Prepare for War

The military equipment which showered down on the Phalange party, mainly from Israel, but from some European countries and their black markets, was paralleled only by the weaponry with which the Progressive Socialist Party outfitted itself, though most of it was of Soviet origin and quality.

But why get ready for war when the situation prior to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon was one of abatement in the war and stagnation in the battles, except along the contact lines, which existed in a state of customary everyday violence?

The answer to this question came both after and during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Each faction figured that the decisive moment had not come yet. As Bashir al-Jumayyil put it in an address given in the Hall of Mirrors at 'Ayn al-Ramanah on 13 April 1982: "The near future will draw the picture of the Lebanon of the future."

When the Israeli invasion began and Ari'el Sharon's tanks crawled forward in the direction of the capital, the picture truly was drawn.

That war gave birth to the following facts:

First: the Palestinian resistance was removed from Beirut, and its main armed ally, the Lebanese National Movement, ceased to be a part of the conflict's calculus.

Second: The Phalange Party rose to the president's chair in Lebanon via the election of Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil, leader of the Lebanese Forces, as

president of the republic. This was followed by the election of his brother, Shaykh Amin al-Jumayyil, as the country's current president. This means that the party which acted as the protector of the president of the republic during all previous presidential terms has gained the presidency.

Third: The alliance represented by the Lebanese National Movement splintered and collapsed, while the traditional personalities and currents returned to take control, or something like control, of the Sunni and Shi'i communities in Beirut.

Fourth: Israel came to play a prominent role as a factor affecting the course of events on the Lebanese scene. This followed the collapse of the Syrian factor, which was brought about through the military defeat the Syrian army suffered in Beirut and the mountain.

Fifth: The American factor grew in importance, since it benefited from all or some of the results via the congruence and integration of the American and Israeli strategies.

Sixth: The slogan "victor and vanquished" took form in a practical way on the ground since the Lebanese forces that cooperated with Israel turned out to be winners who, in the last analysis, could control the course of Lebanon's future.

But despite these superficially prominent facts, there were others which were not prominent, but secret. They have proven to have an effect on the final course of events. The most important of these secret facts are:

1. The assassination of Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil while he was still the president-elect, that is, a few days before he was really to take over the presidency, eliminated most of the political program which the leaders of the Phalangist Arab Council had been dreaming of applying on the ground. The current president, his brother Shaykh Amin al-Jumayyil, who was elected by national consensus, has based himself on a platform amounting to a wager on legality in its most comprehensive sense and the state in its most complete form. As one of the leading scholars concerned with positivist studies of Lebanese politics, he realizes that Lebanon's political and sectarian structure does not permit any one faction to achieve hegemony over another. Lebanon and the Lebanese have no choice but to turn to the state and trust in it. The state's army must be stronger than all the armed forces present on Lebanese territory.

2. Walid Junblatt's decision not to throw his sect and followers into battle with the Israelis when the latter invaded the mountain and attained its most rugged peak--the peak of al-Baruk--was based on precise calculations. According to these calculations, any battle between the Druze and the Israelis would definitely end with the destruction of the Druze, and thus with absolute Phalangist control of the Shuf area. At the same time, Walid Junblatt was certain that no military force could stand in the face of the Israeli attack, unless the situation on the Arab scene and internationally were to change in a miraculous fashion in an age that knows no miracles.



3. Two new elements in particular had entered the mountain which had to be worked with for some time. These two elements were the entry of the Lebanese Forces at the side of the Israelis and the appearance of the Israeli Druze on the scene. The personnel of the former were active in most of the Christian villages, while the appearance of the latter was due to the many visits exchanged by the Druze shaykhs living in Israel and the Druze living in the Shuf. This second factor helps explain why the Israeli army was not permitted to take the personal weaponry of the Shuf Druze from their hands. It also helped to push the Shuf Druze to consolidate themselves in their areas and start a war of daily discussions with the Lebanese Forces.

These factors, which were hidden only yesterday but have become well known now, formed a weak point in the plan the legitimate system in Lebanon had to establish its control. In one of its guises, it also formed one facet of the contradiction implicitly extant between the administration and the Lebanese Forces. President Amin al-Jumayyil knows well that any force, even if it carries the banner of loyalty to the administration, which tries to impose its own military presence on any square inch of Lebanon, damages the legitimate authority he clings to. Moreover, things on the Lebanese scene cannot be resolved according to the logic of "victor and vanquished."

#### Israel and Its Role in the Mountain War

Israel left the fuse of the explosion burning when it carried out its partial withdrawal. When it was in control of the mountain, it managed the battle in a very interesting fashion. Though it cared for and helped the Lebanese Forces in many places, it also considered the areas where there was an armed Druze presence to be self defense areas. Though helping to set up solid military bases for the Lebanese Forces in some areas of the mountain, it did not at all oppose the presence of such positions in the hands of the Druze side, although the Druze leadership, as represented by Mr Walid Junblatt, the head of the Progressive Socialist Party, was publicly proclaiming its absolute rejection of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement. Indeed, some Druze belonging to leftist parties were undertaking direct military operations against the Israeli army.

Israel's calculations were made according to the Russian roulette principle. From the very start, Israel had decided to turn over the mountain from which it withdrew in such a state that it would be mined with deadly bullets. Israel realized, of course, that if the mountain war broke out, as it already had, it would be between the two sides that form Lebanon's foundation. Israel knew that war would be able to exhume the bones of history from its ancient, venerable tomb and remind the two sides of the tragedy of 1860, when there was war between the Maronites and the Druze over the priority of donkey passage on the mountain road. Essentially, though, that war was but a manifestation of the French-English struggle going on at the time.

#### Syria's Interest Is Also Bound Up in the War

Syria is making calculations about the Lebanese scene just as Israel is. The loss by Syria of the Lebanese and Palestinian cards was not easy for Damascus

to accept, for Syria's role in any future Middle East negotiations will rest essentially on exigencies that are as far removed as possible from those maps drawn by the disengagement engineer, Henry Kissinger, on the soil of the occupied Golan Heights. This is especially true because, after the Israeli-American agreement, the Lebanese card has come to seem to belong to America alone. For the administration of President Amin al-Jumayyil has bet all it has and all its cards on the American horse. To be more precise, it has bet its all on President Reagan's Middle East policy, which some Lebanese sources say is based solely on Reagan's peace initiative.

From this situation in particular we notice that Syria has a strategic alliance with Mr Walid Junblatt, and that it is also engineering the National Salvation Front project, which comprises all its principle allies on the Lebanese scene.

#### How the War Began

Israel left the fuse burning and prepared the area in an ideal fashion for war simply by withdrawing. That is, the battling began less than 3 hours later. It is said in this regard that Israel wanted to give the government a last chance to choose, especially since the Lebanese government found itself confronting these three choices:

1. The Israeli choice, meaning ratification of the agreement concluded by Lebanon and Israel and affirmation of the principle of the normalization of relations between Beirut and Tel Aviv.
2. The Syrian choice, meaning breaking or canceling the agreement with Israel, creating special and exceptional ties between Syria and Lebanon, and announcing that Lebanon was committed only to the armistice agreement signed in 1949.
3. The American choice, which Lebanese Foreign Minister Elie Salim has described as betting on the realization of the American administration's promise that all the foreign armies would be withdrawn from Lebanon's territory, while the legitimate authority encompassed all four quarters of the country.

Within the course of the third choice, war raged in the mountain. In geographic terms, we mean the area extending from the al-Baruk chain in the southeast to the chain of high mountains in the west. This area, which is referred to as the Shuf, contains 90 percent of Lebanon's Druze inhabitants, as well as about 30 percent of its Maronite population.

The war has progressed in the following directions:

1. From Sawfar to the city of Bhamdun. The battle there lasted about 4 days and ended with total Druze control of one of the biggest towns along the international road connecting Beirut and Damascus. The Druze achieved a great strategic victory there. The fall of Bhamdun opened the way for them in the direction of the villages lying to the southeast of Mount 'Aliyah, which were taken one after the other.

2. From the coast toward the region of al-Shahaf al-Gharbi, where the Druze forces met with violent resistance from the Lebanese army in the area of Kafr Matta. The fighting ended with the army controlling an area extending from the east to Qabrshmun.

3. From Dahr al-Baydar to Bayt al-Din, with the villages of 'Ayn Zhalta Hab' al-Safa and al-Baruk lying between the two. The Druze were able to overrun this line in 4 days as well. In the end, they controlled a total of 73 different Maronite villages.

4. From al-Shuwayfat on the coast toward the area of Suq al-Gharb, with 'Aytat, which adjoins Suq al-Gharb, being considered the last Druze fortress.

The battle's ultimate result was to uproot no fewer than 400,000 people and destroy 45 percent of the mountain's beautiful villages, not to mention the unknown number of dead and mutilated persons.

However, despite the human concern about the war, it did, for its part, underline some basic givens which cannot be overlooked:

1. The Druze-Maronite alliance, which has existed since the foundation of the state of Greater Lebanon, must not be infringed at all. The creation of any new alliance would amount to a land mine which would explode all of Lebanon.

2. The victor-and-vanquished theory will not work in Lebanon, with all its sects and parties.

3. The granting of concessions to any faction in light of the foreign factors interfering in the country would destroy Lebanon and lead to its partitioning.

4. The partitioning of Lebanon will affect not only that country, but the entire region.

5. The Lebanese army, no matter what anyone may say about it, will in the future be able to be the main power supporting the legitimate authorities and the country.

6. Israel is Lebanon's main and primary enemy. It is Israel which clearly is trying to partition Lebanon, because the latter as a settled society is a future danger which threatens Israel.

7. The Arab contradictions and the card game being played out on the Lebanese scene will lengthen the duration of the tragedy in this region of the Arab World.

8. As for America's support, it does not extend beyond its political limits, for any American escalation in Lebanon would be countered by a corresponding Soviet escalation. This means that Lebanon cannot be the starting point for the Vietnamization of the region.

9. The Lebanese national dialogue is a basic necessity which cannot be postponed now, following the disappearance of the "no's" which the various sides used to exchange.

10. The shadow states which arose during the real state's absence from the stage must disappear once and for all, for this is where the future will be determined.

11. No matter what may be said about the elements that assisted the Druze in the war, they have demonstrated that they are strong fighters. The biggest favor the Lebanese Forces did for them was to force them to stick together.

12. The Lebanese Phalange has realized that it is the state's party, not the party's state, especially since President Amin al-Jumayyil has been acting on the basis of a general Lebanese conception. He has affirmed at every opportunity that he is trying to extend legitimate authority over all of Lebanon.

13. The traditional solutions of the past, which were based on reconciliation and covering up errors and swindles, and thus on joint deception among all, have collapsed as well. What is needed, once this Golgotha is over, is the founding of the Lebanon of the future, whose buttresses will not disintegrate every quarter century.

12224

CSO: 4404/42

# PROSPECTS FOR INTERNAL POLITICAL AGREEMENT EXPLORED

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[Article by Ilyas Harfush: "What Lebanon, What Dialogue, What Peace, and What Relations with the Arabs and with Israel Will We See in Lebanon's Future?"]

[Excerpts] This is not the first time that the political factions involved in the crisis in Lebanon are holding a conference to have a national dialogue. In 1975, which was the first year of this crisis, dialogue sessions were held which saw the participation of most of the figures which will be participating in the current conference. At that time the political atmosphere in Lebanon was divided up into the Lebanese Front, which was under the leadership of former President Camille Sham'un and the Phalange Party, and the Lebanese Movement, which was founded and organized by the late Kamal Junblatt. In the summer of 1981 former President Ilyas Sarkis, on the basis of recommendations made by the Arab Follow-up Committee (which was composed of the foreign ministers of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Syria, as well as the secretary general of the Arab League), called for national dialogue sessions to be held under his chairmanship at the palace in Ba'abda. However, it turned out that not even the inaugural session of this conference was held.

In view of the history of political setbacks in Lebanon, the politicians themselves are afraid that this new dialogue will suffer the same fate that all the previous dialogues did. Nevertheless, there is a chance for success which observers consider to be the "last chance," and they feel that one must take advantage of this opportunity in order to save Lebanon from the danger of being partitioned and of suffering its final demise as an independent entity. These observers say that the positive elements which are present this time could be summed up in the following points:

1. Although the U.S. is politically supporting President Amin al-Jumayyil and his authority, there is also a desire on the part of the U.S. to see political progress achieved in the direction of a national reconciliation. This desire was conveyed to President al-Jumayyil himself in the form of a message from President Reagan which was passed along to him by the U.S. ambassador in Beirut. Among other things, the message said that

"there is a need to achieve progress in the direction of a political system which would be more all-embracing and more capable of providing representation for the various trends." Also, George Shultz, the U.S. secretary of state, echoed this same idea in a statement which he made in Washington in response to a question asked by a member of the press.

2. There is a desire on the part of the Arabs, embodied by Saudi mediation and Syrian support of this mediation, to put an end to the fighting and to help the various factions in Lebanon to achieve a political agreement. Observers here also note that Syrian media are responding favorably to Saudi mediation and have stopped their political attacks against the regime of President al-Jumayyil after these attacks had been going on continuously during the battles in the Shuf mountains. Furthermore, the Syrians have agreed to be one of the parties involved which would participate, together with the Lebanese president, in the work done by the dialogue committee.

3. Observers of the developments of the Lebanese crisis consider that the military consequences of the battle in Mount Lebanon will inevitably cause the Phalange Party and the Lebanese Forces to radically revise their political positions. They consider that the political change in the positions of this party will be in two directions--1) no longer counting on Israel; and 2) no longer counting on a military solution in order to achieve political gains after the al-Shuf battles have demonstrated that there are local forces which have the military means necessary to be able to deal with those of the Lebanese Forces.

It was in an atmosphere of cautious optimism that President al-Jumayyil initiated his local contacts with the various political leaders in preparation for the holding of the dialogue conference. The first basic obstacle to the get-together of the Lebanese leaders emerged when Mr Walid Junblatt announced the formation of a "civil administration" in the areas of al-Shuf and 'Alayh. These are the two areas which have come to have a Druze majority after the recent battles in Mount Lebanon. In a press conference which Junblatt held in Bayt al-Din, he described the purpose of the new measures which had been taken as being "concern for people's everyday lives, because it is necessary to provide at least a minimum of guarantees in the realms of our citizens' everyday life, security, and economy." He went on to say: "The civil administration, under emergency circumstances, will help in the conduct of the civil affairs of our citizens. When peace comes, this civil administration will be transformed into a pressure group which will guide the official government administration and will constitute a form of popular participation." The Lebanese government considered Junblatt's step to be "a step in the direction of partition," and was of the opinion that it would greatly affect the national dialogue.

President al-Jumayyil called for the holding of a series of government meetings "in order to deal with this step." He also got in touch with a number of political leaders, including Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan, former Prime Minister Sa'ib Salam, and former President Camille Sham'un. Official political circles questioned whether or not Junblatt's step was

the beginning of the establishment of a Druze entity in Lebanon. Mr Junblatt, in response to these accusations, said the following: "The step that has been taken in Mount Lebanon is a temporary step taken in order to deal with everyday living and economic conditions under the circumstances of the absence of government authority in the al-Shuf area and the areas of Mount Lebanon. The step is not a step in the direction of partition, and our ultimate objective is to maintain the unity of Lebanon."

Before Junblatt's decision was taken, the basic concern was the issue of choosing observers to supervise the cease-fire in the al-Shuf area. The Syrians, together with Junblatt, declared their opposition to the entry of UN observers into the al-Shuf area. Syria's justification for this position was that these observers "usually stand as a buffer between warring nations rather than between factions within a single country which are fighting each other." Furthermore, a number of obstacles have arisen along the path to the reconciliation meeting. The most important of these obstacles is the personal disputes which exist between some of the members of the National Reconciliation Committee. How is it possible, for example, to get former President Sulayman Franjiyah to meet with Pierre al-Jumayyil, even though contacts are being maintained between Franjiyah and President Amin al-Jumayyil? How is it possible to get President al-Jumayyil to meet with Walid Junblatt? How is it possible to convince Raymond Iddih to meet with leaders from the Phalange Party? Even Camille Sham'un, when his name came up as one of the members of the reconciliation committee, declared that he would not attend the reconciliation conference if Kamil al-As'ad, the president of the Chamber of Deputies, and Shafiq al-Wazzan, the prime minister who is resigning his post, were excluded from the conference. Sham'un said that one cannot exclude the head of the legislative body and the head of the government from the work of a conference which could lead to political and constitutional changes in Lebanon's system of government. Phalangist sources told AL-MAJALLAH that Sham'un's position was "not an obstacle" and that the Phalange Party, in spite of its support for Sham'un's position, was prepared to attend the conference "in order to facilitate the holding of the conference and in order to reaffirm the good intentions of the Phalange Party." These Phalangist sources interpreted the exclusion of al-As'ad and al-Wazzan from the work of the dialogue committee as being attributable to "a Syrian decision enabling Damascus to maintain the right to choose the Muslim representatives in Lebanon from among those who are pro-Syrian and who are allied with Syria." The response of the Chamber of Deputies to the exclusion of its president from the dialogue sessions was to pass a resolution, by a majority vote of 52 (out of a total of 90 votes), stipulating "rejecting the beginning of any dialogue among the Lebanese before the deployment of the army in all areas of Lebanon and the withdrawal of the foreign troops from Lebanon." The Chamber of Deputies considered that such a dialogue under present circumstances would lead to partition. It also pointed out that "no dispute among the Lebanese can be greater in importance than the battle being waged to liberate Lebanon." Circles associated with President al-Jumayyil mentioned that the president does not consider himself to be "a partner who is equal in standing" to the



other political figures. They said that he feels this way because he represents all Lebanese and derives his legitimate authority from the Chamber of Deputies, whereas the other political figures have not been elected as representatives of anyone. These circles associated with President al-Jumayyil also said: "The issue is not an issue of a dialogue between the government and the opposition, because the dialogue committee is not a constituent constitutional body. Every constitutional change has to be carried out within the framework of the legitimate institution, and this institution is the Chamber of Deputies."

#### The Men Responsible for the National Pact

If the reconciliation conference is held, the people who are supposed to attend it are the same people who were associated with the establishment of the 1943 National Pact. This is true with the exception of three persons, who are President al-Jumayyil, Walid Junblatt, and Nabih Barri. The people in the dialogue committee are evenly divided in terms of religion. Five of them are Christians (all of whom are Maronites), and five of them are Muslims. The British magazine THE ECONOMIST mentioned the fact that most of the members of the dialogue committee were over 70 years of age, and said: "Those who participated in creating the 1943 National Pact are now being called upon to participate in dismantling it."

The agenda of the reconciliation conference will include a number of major issues concerning which agreement will have to be reached in order to put and end to the political disputes which currently exist between the government and factions in the opposition. These issues are political reform, the organization of the army, Lebanon's relations with the other Arab nations, particularly Syria, and the fate of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement. AL-MAJALLAH has taken a comprehensive poll among the most important political figures who will be taking part in the conference in order to discover points of agreement and differences concerning these issues and the degree to which these political figures are prepared to offer concessions for the sake of having an agreement reached.

#### Political Reform

During the course of a private conversation which AL-MAJALLAH held with Walid Junblatt, Mr Junblatt said that he was going to present a comprehensive political program to the dialogue committee. He said that, right now, he is contacting his allies in the National Salvation Front and is also contacting Mr Nabih Barri, head of the Amal Movement, in order to put together a rough draft of this program. He went on to say: "This rough draft will be based on the reform program of the National Movement (the program which was drawn up when the late Kamal Junblatt was still alive when the Lebanese civil war first began) and the Constitutional Document (which was announced by former President Sulayman Franjiah in 1976). However, the program which we will present will go beyond the bounds of political sectarianism because we want to move in the direction of eliminating sectarianism when it comes to filling government positions. We also reject having the constitution specify that the president, prime



minister, and president of the Chamber of Deputies be chosen on the basis of religion, although we have no objection to maintaining the current practice of distributing these three positions on the basis of religion."

The Constitutional Document, which was announced on 14 February 1976, specifies the following points:

1. Reaffirmation of the existing practice of distributing the three positions of president, prime minister, and president of the Chamber of Deputies on the basis of religion.
2. Equal distribution of seats in the Chamber of Deputies among Muslims and Christians, and modification of the Election Law.
3. Election of the prime minister by the Chamber of Deputies.
4. Consolidation of decentralization of government administration.
5. Elimination of sectarianism when it comes to choosing people for government positions and maintenance of equality when it comes to choosing people for the top-level positions (directors general, army commanders, and governors).

Junblatt adds to these points the fact that he wants the president of the republic to be elected by direct popular vote. He also demands that the position of commander of the army not be reserved for a Maronite. He also reaffirms the necessity of consolidating and expanding administrative decentralization in order that the various regions of Lebanon be administratively independent. It is within the framework of this concept that Junblatt called for the organization of an assembly for local administration in the Mount Lebanon and al-Shuf area.

The Phalange Party, via its representative Mr Joseph Abu Khalil, editor in chief of the newspaper AL-'AMAL, responded to the call for political reform as follows: "As far as we are concerned, everything is open for discussion. Peace cannot return to Lebanon except by means of a process of national reconciliation in which each sect receives its rights and receives political protection within a new national framework." He went on to say: "We make a distinction between the just demands of the Druze sect and the claim by Walid Junblatt that he represents these demands. Junblatt is, in fact, doing harm to the Druze sect and is not serving [the cause of] its rights." Concerning the issue of political reforms, Abu Khalil said: "The causes of the Lebanese crisis are not internal causes, nor do disputes among the Lebanese constitute the causes. We already came to agreement in 1976 concerning the Constitutional Document. Why did the civil war not stop then?" Abu Khalil then replied as follows to Junblatt's accusation that President al-Jumayyil is providing an opportunity for the Phalange Party to gain control of the apparatus of the government: "There is no Phalangist domination of the government. No members of the Phalange Party have been appointed to any principal position in the government. Furthermore, we are not the ones who tell President al-Jumayyil

what to do." When I told him that all of those appointed to the principal positions in the government, including Gen Ibrahim Tannus, the commander of the army, were members of the Phalange Party or else pro-Phalangist, he answered: "All Maronites are pro-Phalangist. Does this mean that no Maronite should be appointed to a government position?" Abu Khalil felt that the cause of the continuation of the war in Lebanon is the Arab-Israeli conflict, the effects of which are still piling over onto Lebanon territory. He said that participation by the Muslims in government has been achieved because the prime minister is a Muslim.

In an interview with the U.S. magazine TIME, President al-Jumayyil said the following concerning the future of the political system in Lebanon: "Perhaps we need to undertake modernization in our system in order to take into consideration the diversity of Lebanese society. The process of modernization will help to unify the country rather than partition it. We are very anxious to have this objective achieved. I believe that it will be possible for us to find the correct formula. This is Lebanon's *raison d'etre*." The Phalange Party rejects the demand concerning the elimination of political sectarianism when it comes to choosing people for public positions. The leaders of the Lebanese Front have their reservations concerning this. The opinion of these leaders was as follows: "Political sectarianism means distributing political and administrative positions among religious sects in their role of constituting different cultural groups, each of which has its own personality. Political sectarianism means that the central government recognizes the independence of these religious sects. Article 9 of the constitution obligates the government to respect each sect's personal status code and religious interests." The Lebanese Front's view of the slogan which calls for eliminating political sectarianism is as follows: "It is not a slogan which [really] calls for the eliminating of sectarianism, but rather its consolidation and the distribution of positions on the basis of it. This slogan is too trivial to become a pillar of the reform which we anticipate. It is a reactionary slogan because it excludes, instead of consolidating, the criterion of choosing people for positions on the basis of their ability." The response of the Lebanese Front to those who demand the elimination of political sectarianism boils down to the fact that the Lebanese Front considers that these people, in fact, merely wish to see these government positions pass from the hands of members of certain religious sects into the hands of members of other religious sects. On the other hand, the Lebanese Front agrees with the demand for administrative decentralization which is being made by Walid Junblatt. In fact, some of the extremists among the members of the Lebanese Front are calling for "political decentralization" and citing, as examples of what they want, the systems which exist in Switzerland and the U.S. There is no agreement concerning this point between the Phalange Party (the Political Bureau) and the leadership of the Lebanese Front. However, there is a basic trend within both the Lebanese Front and the Phalange Party which calls for the following: "We are in favor of creating a formula for a confederation of regions, each of which would be administratively and politically autonomous. However, they would all belong to a single confederated nation which would make confederated political decisions on the basis of unanimity. In other

words, each region in the joint confederated body would have the right of veto." The Maronite monastic orders in al-Kaslik possess numerous studies and various plans which have been made concerning the confederation system which they are proposing for Lebanon.

#### Organization of the Army

In an angry response concerning the subject of the army, Walid Junblatt told AL-MAJALLAH that he prefers to see the "elimination of the army," and he added: "This army has done nothing during the history of its existence except fight against the citizens [of Lebanon] or engage in infighting among its own personnel. I prefer the elimination of the army and replacing it with a local police force in each area which would be linked to the judicial apparatus, and this would be within the framework of the framework of the system of administrative decentralization which I propose." When I said to Junblatt that the demand for the elimination of the army was not a demand which was practical, especially under present circumstances, he said that, in any case, he does not want to see command of the army be restricted to the Maronite sect. As far as the Phalange Party is concerned, it considers any criticism of the army to be an appeal for a stop to be put to the role played by the army. Mr Joseph Abu Khalil, when asked about the Phalange Party's opinion concerning the demand to reorganize the army and change its leadership, said the following: "The objective of all of this criticism is to have this army remain ineffective. Such criticism against the army always appears whenever the army achieves any positive steps in the direction of building up its ranks and developing its military capability. As for the matter of the leadership of the army, if their objective is to have the army commanded by a member of another sect and to take this position away from the Maronites, then why do they not say this openly?" The fact is that there is a basic dispute among the parties in the dialogue, especially between the Phalange Party and Walid Junblatt, concerning the role which the army has played during the recent war. Junblatt accuses the commanders and officers of the army of carrying out their missions "on the basis of instructions and orders given by the Phalangists."

#### Lebanon and the Arab World

Walid Junblatt says that he considers Lebanon to be a basic part of the Arab world: "Lebanon is an Arab nation in every sense of the word." He also says the "Lebanon's relations with Syria, in particular, are relations which are special, historical, and fraternal." However, the Phalange Party and the Lebanese Front have reservations concerning Lebanon's "Arab identity" and concerning special relations with Syria. The leaders of the Lebanese Front are of the opinion that "belonging to the Arab community is a matter of one's individual personal feeling, and this is something which each person must decide for himself and is something which cannot be imposed by means of a governmental decision." They also say the following: "Some groups in Lebanon identify with Western civilization, which is based on the roots of Christianity, as much as they identify

with Arab civilization, and they see no conflict in these two affinities. In fact, they see this as a source of intellectual and cultural wealth which provides them with the opportunity to introduce into Arab culture new ideas which can revive and revitalize it." Concerning the presence of the Syrian troops in Lebanon, both the Lebanese Front and the Phalange Party consider these troops to be "occupying forces." Here we have something which constitutes a basic point of dispute with Walid Junblatt and his allies, and of course with the Syrians as well. Junblatt's position is that one should insist on the unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Lebanon before the Syrians withdraw. Junblatt also had the following to say about this matter: "It was the Lebanese government (during the administration of former President Sulayman Franjiyah) that requested the intervention of Syrian troops in order to put a stop to the civil war. In this sense these troops are not 'occupying forces,' as is the case with the Israeli forces." This, of course, is also the position of the Syrian government. In an interview last week with Mr 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam, Syria's foreign minister, he said the following: "Any discussion of the withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon is linked to the prior and complete unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli forces, the elimination of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement, and the establishment of a government of national unity in Lebanon, because the present government does not represent all of the Lebanese."

#### Fate of the Lebanese-Israeli Agreement

Walid Junblatt demands the cancellation of this agreement. But Joseph Abu Khalil, speaking on behalf of the Phalange Party, has a different opinion and had the following to say: "We do not accept the cancellation of the agreement with Israel before we find a political or security-related alternative. Do they want to cancel the agreement and thereby hand over South Lebanon to Israel by means of giving Israel a pretext to continue its occupation?" Junblatt's response to this was the following: "The alternative to agreements with Israel is the achievement of national unity and the organization of all-embracing national opposition to Israel. Such opposition would be the only thing that could compel Israel to withdraw from South Lebanon." The Lebanese-Israeli agreement also constitutes a point of basic dispute between the government and those in opposition to it. President al-Jumayyil is adhering to the agreement and is being supported in this regard by the U.S. government. He sees no other alternative to it which would permit him to "guarantee" the withdrawal of the Israelis from Lebanon.

#### The Dialogue and the Results

In view of these disputes, what are the prospects for the dialogue and the reconciliation conference achieving some results and leading to an agreement? Walid Junblatt had the following to say about this: "We must always make an effort. I do, however, feel that the Phalangists are still planning to either dominate Lebanon or partition it. The possibility of conducting a dialogue with Amin al-Jumayyil still exists. Nevertheless, we do not at all have very high hopes concerning achieving any results

[through the proposed dialogue]." As for Joseph Abu Khalil, he said the following concerning this matter: "If there were no disputes among the Lebanese factions, there would be no reason to hold a reconciliation conference. A dialogue always begins with points of dispute and positions which are far apart, and these positions are then modified during the course of discussions and efforts to achieve mutual understanding in order that a common denominator be arrived at."

Brig Gen Raymond Iddih, however, told AL-MAJALLAH that he is of the opinion that the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon and the dissolution of the militias are matters which are of primary importance at this stage. Iddih said that he is unable to take a position with regard to the dialogue conference because so far he has not received an "official" invitation to come to the conference and no one has informed him concerning what the agenda of this conference will be. Iddih is considered to be a major political opponent of the Phalange Party. Nevertheless, he shares with this party the fact that he is strongly critical of the Syrian presence in Lebanon. Walid Junblatt insisted that Iddih should participate in the dialogue conference since his participation, as Junblatt told AL-MAJALLAH, would constitute "a victory of the moderate Maronites." Junblatt indicated that he is prepared to go to Paris to try to convince Brig Gen Iddih to agree to attend the reconciliation conference and participate in its work.

Once again we must ask: What are the prospects for the national dialogue conference being a success? What are the prospects for achieving a political agreement among the factions in the Lebanese conflict--an agreement which would definitely put a stop to Lebanon's crisis? Is there a common denominator which can be extracted out of the conflicting positions which exist? In short, can a compromise solution be reached for the disputes among the Lebanese?

John Robertson, a British Middle East affairs expert and a person who has been keeping track of the Lebanese crisis, had the following to say: "Lebanon is like a chessboard. It is like a chessboard which has not 2 colors, but rather 64 different colors. Any process of national reconciliation must start with Mount Lebanon and the areas controlled by the Lebanese government right now. Also, the prospects for a Syrian withdrawal will become better with the establishment of a government in Lebanon which meets the approval of the Syrian authorities and which is established as a result of a national reconciliation." Robertson does not consider it likely that the Phalange Party will proclaim the establishment of a Christian nation in case the attempts to arrive at a national reconciliation fail. He went on to say: "In view of the current circumstances, my view is that the Phalange Party has no choice but to reach an agreement with the other factions. Right now, this party lacks positions of supports and allies in the [Middle Eastern] area." But Robertson also added: "If the dialogue fails this time, the only thing remaining will be partition, continuation of the internal struggle, cessation of the meddling in this involved and difficult crisis by the large foreign powers, and simply allowing the Lebanese to face their own fate alone."

Charles Tripp, a Middle East affairs expert with the International Strategic Studies Institute, was of the following opinion: "Any solution to the Lebanese crisis must be based on the following two principles:

1. Lebanon must once again reaffirm the fact that it belongs to the Arab world. Transforming Lebanon into an Israeli protectorate will not constitute a permanent solution to the problem. It is a solution which is bound to fail. A government in Lebanon which distances itself from Israel is a government which will be able to convince the Syrians to withdraw.
2. The political settlement must include some type of administrative reorganization of Lebanon within the framework of a system of cantons or something similar. This would allow each religious sect to work on bandaging the wounds which it suffered as a result of the war. This system of cantons should be under the umbrella of a central government which takes into consideration the interests of all of the religious sects and all factions."

Mr Tripp added: "The U.S. made a great mistake by linking the Israeli withdrawal to the Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon. This linkage is something which is unacceptable to the Syrians and to many [other] Arabs. It is necessary, as a first step, to correct this mistake and do away with this linkage before the Syrians and Israelis can be persuaded to withdraw back to their own borders and the Lebanese can be allowed to rebuild their country."

In anticipation of the holding of the national dialogue conference, several measures and steps have been taken to consolidate the truce. They have included reopening the Beirut airport and the release of the prisoners held by the Druzes and the Phalangists.

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ECONOMIC, SOCIAL SITUATION IN NORTH ASSESSED

Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 4 Oct 83 p 17

[Article: "The Legitimate Lebanese Army Is Not Allowed To Undertake Its Security Tasks. Expulsion Operations and the Wars Between 'Dahis and al-Ghabra'' Have Delivered the Final Blow to Tripoli's Economy"]

[Excerpts] The Causes of the Economic Decline

However, the direct causes of this deteriorating situation have become as well known to the average, simple farmers as they are to the analysts, experts and intellectuals. There are three main causes:

First: the Israeli economic invasion of Lebanon and the Israeli goods which have taken the Lebanese market by storm, consequently closing some areas to domestic products.

Second: the closing of the Syrian border to the goods and products of North Lebanon which used to be exported to the Arab markets, especially to the Gulf region.

Third: the difficulty of transporting goods on the international Beirut-Tripoli road, due to the illegal and exorbitant "special taxes" which are imposed not only on goods heading to Beirut, but also on fertilizers and other agricultural materials coming from Beirut.

In addition, the "expulsion" is wiping out the last remnant of economic steadfastness in the north, exacerbating the tragic nature of social life there, and causing the latter's problems to become even worse. And if we consider the unstable security situation in Tripoli and the wars between "Dahis and al-Ghabra'" which never are interrupted or quiet down, then we will not be surprised to find that most factories and companies have gone broke, while tens of thousands of their workers and employees have been fired.

Bankruptcies and Proteges

The bankruptcy of the Particle Board Company at the end of last summer was one dangerous indication of the initial results of the Israeli invasion. On that day, yelling and crying arose from every direction, perhaps because it

was but the beginning. Afterwards, companies began to sink in enforced silence and hidden worry, for the state of worry and anticipation of worse to come overwhelmed all concerns, problems and disasters, especially in the nearly total absence of the state and its institutions and agencies. Private ports were spread along the coast from al-Bitrun to al-'Aridah on the northern Lebanese border. Official security inside and outside the city was limited, ineffectual and paralyzed. The government offices were packed with cronies, bullies and agents. Even the government hospital, the only one in the north, which had been outfitted by the United States of America with the most modern machinery and necessary equipment, was more like a normal clinic, where the only treatment in most cases was simple examination. The minister of public health made a surprise visit to this hospital at the start of the year, where he found only one orderly and a not inconsiderable number of sick people. This led him to change the staff and medical cadre completely. However, the hospital still cannot take care of a single emergency case. Poor people without means have to go to the Islamic Charity Hospital or death is surely inevitable in such urgent cases. This state of affairs might not be a surprise or the result of a lack of resources. Sources in Tripoli are almost unanimously agreed that it is an intentional policy. They offer dozens of reasons and examples for it.

In the last few days, things have reached the point of disbelief. A person was killed in Tripoli and his corpse was taken to the Islamic government hospital. Because the hospital's refrigerated chamber was broken, his relatives took him to the government offices and left him in the courtyard there for a few hours until they were able to transfer him to his distant village.

And so one must take refuge in the private hospitals, despite the fact that their prices are high and their facilities both poor and poorly developed. However, the popular clinics are playing a great and prominent role in the areas of providing medical treatment, inoculation, and the provision of medicine.

Of course, the clinics belonging to the Ministry of Health and the Lebanese Red Cross in all regions of the country are completely closed. This has been the case since the events began in 1975. This can take on humorous aspects at times: in the area of Halba, the capital of the 'Akkar district, a notable example of this can be found. There are seven drivers who collect their monthly pay from the Ministry of Health, while the sole ambulance they have to work with has been broken down for 5 years. The government hospital in the town has been closed since 1976. And don't forget the administrative personnel, nurses and physicians...

The citizens suffer every day from a great problem with respect to lighting as well. Since the electricity is constantly cut off, numerous sectors are paralyzed. This has a negative effect on economic life in general. Two companies provide lighting in the governorate of North Lebanon: Qadisha and the Electricity Authority of Lebanon. The latter belongs to the public sector. The machinery used to provide lighting has become so old and worn out that it can no longer meet the local needs of consumers, the city's



development and the increase in its population. The current has been cut for months at a time in some villages and on many days in the city of Tripoli and its environs.

#### The Bad Situation in Education

The situation in all fields of education is not what one would wish. While military clashes are closing the schools in Tripoli and scaring the students away, ice storms hit last winter. After that came the strikes by the teachers on contract, which were enough to close the schools in the distant villages and in other areas. Final examinations were held for students in one village who had had only three lessons in reading Arabic and a similar number in other subjects. As for the branches of the Lebanese University in the north, they have been affected by the security situation, which has transformed them on most days during the academic year to a bleak desert. Thus, the success rate is no more than 5 percent for some colleges and departments, while the success rate for official diplomas in the northern region is both less and lower than that in Lebanon's other governorates.

The Lebanese crisis and the events in Tripoli, in addition to the Israeli invasion, have left their mark on all utilities and on social life in northern Lebanon. Perhaps worry is the most prominent aspect which has affected the citizens as a result of all this. They have begun to fear for everything as much as they fear for the future and the nation's destiny as a whole. What makes things worse is that the number of refugees from the city of Tripoli and of the jobless exceeds all imagining. Then there are the disasters which follow on one another's heels, bringing in their wake tragedy for all quarters of the city.

#### Confusing Results

At the beginning of this year, following the bloody clashes between the Ba'l Muhsin and al-Tibanah areas, as well as other quarters and corridors, the Syrian Minister 'Abd-al-Karim 'Adi gave former Prime Minister Rashid Karami and the coordination council the sum of 10 million Lebanese pounds as compensation for the people who had suffered harm from those violent battles, which had lasted about a month. This opened the way for providing those who had suffered harm with what they requested from the township of Tripoli and for distributing the sum mentioned above in just proportions to everyone. The result was that the number of requests from injured parties for material damages alone exceeded 140,000, while the number from the families of the dead exceeded 160, with many times that number coming in from the wounded and crippled. This caused payment to be stopped and the sum to be frozen, with the exception of what was paid to some relatives of the dead and wounded.

#### The Port Is an Arena of Competition

On the other hand, the port of Tripoli has become an important arena of party and factional competition, in view of the money, smuggling fees and users' payments it can bestow in abundance upon whomever controls it.

Moreover, the mass of the people, rather than the upper crust, accuse some leaders of having acquired their enormous fortunes from their secret and public activity in the port.

Recently, some armed forces were ordered to enter the port directly and tear up and burn some folders and documents. Before this, news had spread in the city of ships loaded with some smuggled goods which had been forcibly introduced into the markets. There had also been reports of ships unloading arms and ammunition. The operations of the brotherhoods in the port have become a normal and natural activity, just as has happened in some quarters controlled by a single force which says it is protecting them and insuring their security.

This is a very brief and highly summarized picture of the economic and social situation in the northern region at this stage of the Lebanese crisis. It makes clear the negative and destructive effects which the citizens are suffering from on all levels, with the caveat that this is nothing in comparison with the lamentable state of psychological disturbance and tense nerves which the people are experiencing. This is especially true every time the general political atmosphere clouds up and its winds and contradictory storms begin to rage.

#### Disturbance of the Security Situation

The disturbance of the security situation, which is nearly constant, is essentially due to the disturbance of the current political situation, its givens, and its conflicting forces. Therefore, we must first dissect the political map within the capital of the north in order to understand the bad security situation and the magnitude of its negative effects on all levels.

#### The Forces in the North

The political forces present on the ground are as follows:

1. The Syrian army and its sympathizers: The Arab Democratic Party, the various communist parties and organizations, the Syrian Ba'th Party, and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party.
2. The Palestinian resistance and its sympathizers: the Islamic Unification Movement, the Grouping of Popular Committees and Leagues, and the Arab Army of Lebanon.
3. The Lebanese Army and the forces sympathetic to it: the 24th of October Movement and the Iraqi Ba'th Party. (The legitimate Lebanese army has been assigned no security tasks and is not permitted to undertake any such tasks.)

The "Northern Coordination Council" included all these forces and parties before the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Essentially, it was an attempt to rein in the Syrian-Palestinian conflict, which took various forms in the city of Tripoli. Most of the time, the conflict found its concrete expression in violent and bloody clashes between the areas of Ba'l Muhsin and Bab al-Tibanah.

The northern citizens feel bitterness when they see that the Palestinian-Syrian conflict preceded the Israeli invasion, continued during it, and is still going on afterwards. There is no doubt that the worry felt by the citizenry has increased as the intensity of this conflict has. They now clearly are afraid that Tripoli will become one of the theaters for this conflict and its negative and destructive consequences, despite the intense efforts exerted by the coordination council, which is chaired by former Prime Minister Karami. The council has not succeeded in putting a final and basic stop to the fighting. Rather, every battle has been more intense and violent than those which preceded it. This has placed the city in a terrible and dangerous state of exhaustion. In every case, the immediate causes of the explosion were too trivial to be mentioned or remembered. At the same time, the two basic parties to the struggle were and still are far from a direct military confrontation with each other. Indeed, in this struggle they used the forces which are sympathetic to them. In the midst of the Syrian-Palestinian conflicts, their contradictions, and their complexity, a third line emerged on the Tripoli scene. It, too, is secret and indirect, and it opposes both the others. It is the line of the official Lebanese state.

As a political expression of that, the Iraqi Ba'th Party, the 24th of October Movement and the Islamic group withdrew from the coordination council, while the others stayed on.

Thus, new complexities were added to those which already existed. Things became intertwined and interconnected, while Tripoli was changed into a city of ghosts and fear and a jungle armed to the teeth with all kinds of weapons and barricades. The conflict became open to all the three lines and forces without clemency. The massacre of al-Bihsas, which claimed 15 lives or more, and the subsequent massacre of the booby-trapped car in front of the al-Nur mosque in al-Qubbah, which had more than 20 victims, not to mention the wounded, are the best images of this situation.

#### The Syrian Withdrawal

People were anxious about the surprising Syrian withdrawal from some positions within Tripoli and its quarters. Some forces poured out into the streets in an unprecedented state of armed hysteria. Similarly, personnel from the Iraqi Ba'th Party and the 24th of October Movement were brought into the citadel, where they set up positions. They also set up some barricades in the Abu Samra' area and around the homes of Dr 'Abd-al-Majid al-Rifa'i and Faruq al-Muqaddam, who were recently forced to flee to Beirut.

At the same time, personnel from the Islamic Unification Movement entered the nuns' school in al-Qubbah (across from the citadel), set up barriers for themselves in al-Qubbah, and did the same in other quarters. Simultaneously, the township's playing field went to the Arab Army of Lebanon, which also set up a strong point and a barricade merely a few meters away from the barracks of the official Lebanese army in the al-Qubbah area near al-Aruz street.

In most of Tripoli's quarters, barricades and counter-barricades were set up. The streets were empty on that day, except for the armed men everywhere. Despite the intense efforts which have been exerted, the committees which have been formed, and the popular delegations which have intervened, chaos still rules and the military preparations are still going on in daylight, while the war of statements and announcements is going as well as could be wished. Thus, the situation is very hot, and could burst into flame at any time and at any moment.

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CSO: 4404/43

DRUZE LEADER WALID JUNBLATT DISCUSSES BASIC POLITICAL CHANGE IN LEBANON

Tunis AL-'AMAL in Arabic 16 Oct 83 pp 6-7

[Interview with Walid Junblatt, Druze leader and head of the Progressive Socialist Party, by al-Tahir al-Suwayh: "Why We Constantly Demand that the National Pact of 1943 Be Relinquished"; in Rome, date not specified]

[Excerpts] [Question] Is it true that Italy is providing the Lebanese army with weapons?

[Answer] They had an intention of so doing. I talked with President Craxi about this subject. I hope Italy will not send weapons to the official army in Lebanon.

[Question] Let us talk a little bit about the subject of socialism, your party, the character of your socialism, and the relations which exist in your villages, as well as in others, between yourself as a leader and the members of your sect. It is well known that the social relations within your sect are still closer to feudalism than to anything else, and that you personally have inherited from your family the position of an absolute master who holds everything in his hand. What is your position vis-a-vis socialism?

[Answer] Let us agree first of all that the issue of socialism in Lebanon, or in any other Arab country, does not have to be presented via the same concepts recognized in Western democratic-socialist circles. Each milieu has its unique characteristics and its unique program. Those who doubt the validity of our belief in socialism should please come to visit us to learn about the social and economic milieu we have inherited as Lebanese, and I mean all the sects and religions in Lebanon. From this vantage point, it is a primitive milieu which is dominated by a religious and sectarian attitude. I admit that I have in fact inherited the role you mentioned, but it is a role which now rests on two parallel planes. As for the first, it is that I am nothing but an extension of the Junblatt family, its traditions, and its position among the Druze. This is something that cannot be changed easily: You cannot wipe out traditions overnight. The second one is that I am exerting great efforts to set up new, basic structures for the Progressive Socialist Party in the areas I control. The results of this work on the level of the party's basis will become evident gradually, but they are important, because our party was not a sectarian party to begin with when my father

founded it in 1948. Its main activists used to include an important selection of Christians, for at that time Lebanon's problems were not sectarian in nature.

However, the main obstacles we are opposing continue to be hidden in the political and constitutional structure of Lebanon as a whole. We must achieve a fundamental change in the political structure if we are to be liberated from the sectarian cage. Imagine, for example, that we in Lebanon still have no civil marriage! Perhaps time has now begun to work in favor of the needed reform.

[Question] There are two basic solutions to the Lebanese problem: a religious, sectarian solution, which would assure each sect its economic, political and cultural rights, and a secular solution, under which each Lebanese would become merely a citizen like all the rest, with no difference between Druze, Maronites, Shi'ites, etc. The state would no longer recognize religious differences and privileges. Which do you choose?

[Answer] As a progressive socialist, I naturally choose the secular program, which is free of all religious and sectarian restrictions and conditions. I do not understand why a Muslim may not become president of the republic, or why a Christian may not become prime minister, and so on. However, if agreement is not reached on such a solution, then we will have to find a solution which assures the rights of all the sects and minorities and assures justice in all aspects.

[Question] At any rate, there will be no going back to the National Pact of 1943?

[Answer] The political solution of Lebanon's problem basically requires that we relinquish the National Pact of 1943. Today, we demand a new administrative, constitutional, politico-structural adjustment, unless we want to go back to our current situation. Certain inevitable reforms must be introduced, even if sectarian formulas are preserved in the organization of the state's life. For example, the electoral law must be reformed in a fundamental way, so as to allow the president of the republic to be elected by popular vote. He would really represent the Lebanese people then. You would make this unity real and actual. The National Pact of 1943 not only consecrated fragmentation, it implanted it more deeply in people's minds, in daily life, and in the culture. Imagine, Lebanon's children and students do not even use the same book to study their country's history. Imagine, each sect has its own book! One of the manifestations of the mentality which is currently dominant is the behavior of a portion of the Maronites, who have been trying since 1975 to impose a fait accompli which would definitely lead one day to the partition of Lebanon. They are trying as hard as they can to expand the area under their control every time circumstances permit. There is what happened after the departure of the Palestinian fighters from Beirut, or after the withdrawal of the Zionist occupation army from the Shuf. There is no salvation for Lebanon in the shadow of the National Pact of 1943.

[Question] Could you tell me quite plainly whether the issue of where the reconciliation conference is to be held really deserves all this importance? Is it worth long negotiations and contacts? Why?

[Answer] It is definitely an important matter, for what is needed is the realization of the security of all the sides taking part. This is hard to do. The suggestions which have been made are still all at the study and discussion stage. Tunis, the headquarters of the Arab League, or Jiddah, or a ship off the Lebanese coast, or Geneva, if the Arabs cannot find a corner of their wide, broad country to meet in!

You cannot imagine how complex and many-sided a matter it is, because you do not know the situation from the inside, that is, from the immediate arena of the struggle.

[Question] At this point, one of the people accompanying Junblatt came to him and said breathlessly: "Damascus is on the line. Damascus is on the line." Junblatt said, "Damascus." He excused himself for a second. Then he returned. There is no way of knowing the import of the call or who was on the other end. I decided to ask an embarrassing question: There are some who say it is a mistake for you to have a strong alliance with Syria and, via Syria, with the Soviet Union.

[Answer] It is not easy for everyone, especially our friends in Western Europe, to understand the dimensions of the role Syria plays in connection with the Lebanese question. Syria has ancient ties to everything going on in Lebanon. What is Lebanon, what is Syria, and what is Iraq? They are all entities of well known origin and history. I don't think you want me to explain to you the history of the region since the Second World War. Deep ties bind Syria and Lebanon which can never be ignored! I say this, but today I am not casting doubt on Lebanon's independence and its existence as a state which must regain its sovereignty and independence.

On the other hand, you know that the official Lebanon, that is, the Lebanon of the ruling authorities, has now become an extension of Israel in the region, and that it has become a fortress in the hands of the Phalange. This is how things are. If Lebanon were to have a neutral and positive transportation policy vis-a-vis Syria, then I would have more freedom of movement in the shadow of this policy. Let us not forget that Syria is Lebanon's air passage (lung) with respect to the rest of the Arab nation. With respect to the second point: The Syrians intervened in 1976 in Lebanon and saved the Jumayyils and Sham'uns and the Lebanese Front from total defeat. My father, may God have mercy on him, resisted them courageously. As for now, the circumstances have changed and a new situation has imposed a change of alliances on everyone. My father did his duty in his time, and I am doing my duty today. This does not mean that I am reviewing his policy. Naturally, I cannot sit in judgment on his policy. Consequently, I leave judgment to others and to history.

[Question] This has been your story with Syria. There are other parties to the Lebanese conflict. May we begin with the PLO? What is the state of your



relationship with it and your position on the Palestinian question in light of the new situation? What is the issue of the Palestinian fighters whom you asked to withdraw from the Shuf?

[Answer] Our ties to the PLO are good. But there is a very serious crisis within its ranks. To be blunt, I hope that this crisis is solved by political means. The best thing is for there to be a political solution to it. I make no secret of the fact that we have supported the group led by Abu Musa and Abu Salih, which is requesting that a unified political line be established and that reforms be instituted on the organizational level in the PLO. Yasir 'Arafat remains the symbol of the Palestinian resistance; all of us know that. But I believe that something new must come in the aftermath of the battle of Beirut, and that only the PLO has the authority to decide on this new thing. As for the elements we have ordered to withdraw from the Shuf, they are Palestinian fighters who slipped into the area, using some leftist organization as cover. By sneaking in, they are serving Phalangist propaganda, which claims that Lebanon is fighting against the Syrians, the Palestinians and world communism.

[Question] In Tripoli, Palestinian fighters are surrounded by Syrian forces. What is your position on this?

[Answer] The situation is not so simple. There is no siege and no one is surrounded. In reality, the political dialogue between the two combatant sides within the Fatah organization has been halted, unfortunately. This cessation of the dialogue has led to an agonizing military situation, including the siege, etc.

[Question] And your position on the Palestinian issue?

[Answer] It remains the central issue in the region, and it has our full support. However, Lebanon will not be able to escape from its crisis unless two basic conditions are met: the domestic political solution we talked of and the solution to the foreign problem. This problem includes elements which have to do with the Palestinian question but are connected as well with the matter of Israel's northern border. Our foreign problems will know no solution unless a just solution is found for the question of Palestine. At any rate, it is neither possible nor acceptable to us to return to the situation which existed before the Palestinians withdrew from Beirut. Lebanon has made enormous sacrifices for the sake of the Palestinian cause for more than 15 years. Today, it can bear no more sacrifices.

[Question] What you have said leads us inevitably to talk about Lebanon and Israel. What is your conception of the relationship between Lebanon and Israel in the near future? Is it true that you are being wooed by the Israelis? Have there been contacts between you and them?

[Answer] Israel is occupying Lebanese territory, and our position on that is firm and clear: no ties to and no contacts with the occupier. I mentioned before the matter of foreign problems and Israel's northern border. I add that although we reject any peace treaty between Lebanon alone and Israel, as



well as the Lebanese-Israeli agreement, which was signed by the two governments but has still not been approved by the Lebanese parliament, we are prepared to accept any formula guaranteed by the great powers which would meet Israel's request concerning the security of its northern border with us. That is, we are ready to accept a formula which would achieve what Israel has called "Peace for Galilee," on the condition that this formula guarantee Lebanon's complete independence and security, as well as providing a just solution for the question of Palestine.

[Question] What about the multinational force and the matter of neutral observers?

[Answer] The tasks of the multinational force must be clearly determined, especially in light of the new circumstances. The following question must be answered: Will the force come to Lebanon in order to assure peace and the security of the civilians, or to assure the security of President Jumayyil's regime, as the Americans have done? Great fleets are sitting off our coast to protect one man and a regime that does not have the support of at least 60 percent of its citizens! Have these fleets come as part of a test of the effectiveness of the Rapid Deployment Force? Or does the operation amount to a psychological test of the Americans whose goal is to see to what extent they have forgotten Vietnam and are ready to invade El Salvador, for example? Perhaps the game has transcended Lebanon. After all, the atmosphere in international relations is not characterized by relaxation.

As for the observers, one ought not to scorn them. First of all, one must decide which agency will supervise them, because we will not accept forces belonging to the United Nations. That organization has no reason to be involved in an internal struggle which concerns only Lebanon. Lebanon is experiencing a state of civil war. The United Nations has no role to play. Otherwise, Lebanon will be transformed into a new Cyprus. We choose forces from non-aligned states like Yugoslavia, India, etc., on the condition that these forces be linked directly to their governments, with the agreements of the combatant parties in Lebanon.

Discussions are still in progress in this regard.

[Question] How is Walid Junblatt dealing with the Americans?

[Answer] The Americans sometimes act intelligently, and sometimes on the basis of Orientalist concepts, while at other times they act in a violent and horrible fashion, as happened in Vietnam, Cambodia or Latin America. I fear them because they are now following a violent course of action with us. But in 1958 they did not act in a violent way with us. It was extremely intelligent of them to send Ambassador Maurithy with forces that did not intervene in the conflict and imposed a position of neutrality on the Lebanese army. Imagine, the only American sacrifice in 1958 was a soldier who met his fate in a traffic accident.

[Question] And how are you dealing with the West in general?

[Answer] I deal with the West with caution because the West has never understood Islam and sees the Arab and Islamic world as a source of wealth and a commercial target for its goods. I do not like Western racism.

[Question] And the Soviet Union?

[Answer] (laughing) The Soviets are something else. They deal with affairs in other ways and pursue their political interests under the banner of what they call the internationalist position.

In reality, the basic problem in our international relations is that of Arab divisiveness. If the Arabs knew their own identity and uniqueness, and if they were to unify themselves, they would be able to do without all the problems: without both the Americans and Russians. They would be able to stand up to all who challenge them, both the Russians and the Americans.

[Question] Do you think Europe can play an effective role for the sake of peace?

[Answer] Yes, it can do that. There are good signs in the positions of some European countries like Greece and Italy. President Craxi, for instance, has demonstrated to me his superior knowledge of the situation in the region of the Mediterranean and the Middle East, even the distant historical aspects. It might be useful for Europe to attain a unified position and coordinate its unified efforts with the United States in order to produce an effective initiative which would help solve Lebanon's problems in a realistic and fundamental manner.

Walid Junblatt concluded this interview by speaking in a splendid fashion about his personal affairs, his studies, and his reading interests. The information was quite moving at times, such as when he talked about his small son who was born 3 months ago with an intestinal illness as the result of the assassination attempt made on Junblatt while he was in the company of his wife, who was pregnant at the time. It seems that the pressure produced by the explosion affected her in such a way that the fetus was also influenced. I learned that his happiest moments are the ones he spends in the company of his Jordanian wife and two children (the eldest is now one and a half years old), or in his village in the mountain, among his people. They drink tea with him, and he considers their problems in the traditional, inherited way. Walid Junblatt studied first at the French secondary school, and then at the American University of Beirut, where he graduated from the political science department. He says with a smile that the current situation has forced him to become the military leader of a party militia, like the rest of the Lebanese. It is the fate of the Lebanese, Junblatt says, to learn everything except hobbies. He learned military leadership and how to count bombs and rifles overnight, without having had any inclinations in that direction. When he left me, he expressed his fear that Lebanon and the Lebanese had become used to a state of crisis, death and war. Those who were 12 years old when the civil war began are now 20 years old. That represents a great psychological danger for an entire generation of Lebanese.

WEAKENING OF LEBANESE LIRA TO CONTINUE

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 342, 10 Sep 83 p 45

[Article: "Signs of Weakness for the Lebanese Lira"]

[Text] The Lebanese lira, which astonished observers with its staying power, has lately shown signs of weakness. Its exchange rate against the dollar declined by about 11.5 percent in less than a month. The same is true to varying but lesser extents against other currencies.

It is true that the exchange rate of the dollar has vigorously improved against all currencies, but its rise against the lira was higher by a clear margin. The decline of the lira against currencies that are considered weak, such as the French franc and the Italian lira, confirms that the matter is not so much the sudden strength of the dollar but rather factors that have begun to creep into the lira under constant pressure. This pressure has become critical due to the latest deterioration in the security condition and the renewed ambiguity of the Lebanese situation. In fact, it is possible to tie the latest pressure on the Lebanese currency to economic and security considerations, the most important of which are:

The deficit in the balance of payments. Preliminary indicators show that the open account in the Lebanese balance of payments since the beginning of the year has created a tangible deficit which may reach 300 to 400 million dollars at the end of the year. This deficit is perhaps the first of its kind since the start of the Lebanese war in 1975. Its sources and reasons may be traced back to:

(1) The complete suspension of Arab financial assistance since the Israeli invasion. It is to be noted that the sums allotted to assist Lebanon are in principle nearly 800 million dollars annually. It is not expected that these payments will be resumed in the near future, since the granting Arab states have placed implicit conditions for such resumption, the most important of which are the non-normalization of relations with Israel and the withdrawal of foreign troops, particularly the Israelis, from Lebanon.

(2) Decline of remittances from the Lebanese working abroad. Most of these used to come from the Gulf region. The incomes of the Lebanese working there have been affected by the recession and the lowering of government spending.

Moreover, some of these Lebanese have sent part of their savings directly to foreign capitals for deposit to support their families, who moved there because of the events [in Lebanon].

(3) Increase in demand for the American dollar for the purpose of travel. The last few months have actually witnessed a huge emigration wave of Lebanese going to Cyprus and European and non-European capitals. The migration phenomenon of 1975-76 has made a recurrence. Of course, the migrants needed to buy and export large amounts of foreign currencies to secure their residence [abroad], and they took precautions for the possibility that their residence there might be for a long time.

(4) Acceleration of conversion [to] foreign currencies because of deterioration in security and the halt of economic activity. This tendency created a strong pressure on the lira, which was mitigated only by the relative decrease in the fluidity of Lebanese currency. This was for several reasons, the most important being the deficit in the balance of payments, the freeze on lending and the considerable impairment of fluidity by government borrowing [from] treasury bonds.

(5) A large decline in Lebanese agricultural and industrial exports. This shrank Lebanon's intake of [foreign] currencies and increased the current deficit resulting from the imbalance between imports and exports.

(6) Continuation of government deficit because of the imbalance between the state's income and expenses. Despite the fact that the state's regaining some of the legal harbors, especially that of Beirut, has perceptibly helped increase revenues, the increase in government spending, particularly for the military, has abolished to a large extent the increases realized from customs and import taxes.

All these factors, should they continue, herald more weakness in the Lebanese pound, though the greatest threat now stems from the likelihood of the deterioration of the security situation through the outbreak of a civil war. It is certain that the Lebanese Central Bank will face a hard task in its attempt to preserve the value of the pound in the face of general deterioration in the Lebanese situation. It will probably be compelled to resort anew to the enforcement of restrictive measures and to raise vigorously interest rates on deposits in pounds. Thus it would take a chance on increasing great hardships for Lebanese industrial and commercial civilian institutions and for the banks, which in their turn are approaching their last line of defense at a time when the only thing that seems to move before them is the interest piling up on their debts.

12226

CSO: 4404/27

EFFECT OF POLITICAL UNCERTAINTY ON BANKING SECTOR DISCUSSED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 344, 24 Sep 83 p 52

[Article: "Lebanese Banks Were Thrown in Confusion, Then Adjusted to Reality"]

[Text] Lebanese banks have found themselves in difficult circumstances since the start of the latest acts of violence last 29 August. The area of fighting, which included greater Beirut and the mountain, was so large that most banks and their branches were forced to close for about four consecutive days. The stabilization of the situation in west Beirut was not sufficient to bring the banking cycle back to its normal routine. The closing of branches and main offices of a number of banks existing both in east Beirut and the mountain continued. For the first time in years, the banks are passing through a situation as difficult as the one they lived through during the first days of this September. They were unable to receive the checks drawn from other banks and branches or to pay them. Moreover, a number of them stopped withdrawals because of the closing of the Central Bank or its branches for several days. It is said in banking circles that the Lebanese banks have passed through a period considered purely from a security point of view to be more difficult than the invasion of Lebanon last summer. At that time some banks were compelled to close their branches in the hot regions that were daily exposed to attacks from the Israeli army, but their offices continued to do business both in the commercial region and in east Beirut. Soon the banks adopted the method of withdrawal from the closed branches via their other, active branches. In that way they ensured a banking life of sorts, and many sectors came to life. But this time the situation was very different, for the battlefield was so wide that it was impossible for banks to play their role fully for a relatively long time. It seems that their ability to adjust to events was not quick this time due to differences in geography and lines of combat. Banks were unable to hold complete or quasi-complete clearing sessions until the 12th of this September, when the delegates of the banks exchanged the withdrawn checks during three consecutive sessions, two of which were incomplete. It has been observed that the Association of Lebanese Banks exerted pressure on the banks to hold a clearing session and cautioned some banks about the consequences of their failing to send delegates to the clearing sessions, threatening to place on them responsibility for the checks that would be returned to them. Although most bankers attributed the halt of clearing to the absenteeism of

of their employees, there were whisperings about some banks obstructing the clearing sessions for fear of their being confronted with unjustified withdrawals, in addition to fear of events and travel abroad. But Mr Antoine Shadir, president of the association of banks, denied these rumors summarily and in detail. He said that upon investigations he did it became clear to him that the transfers occurring were very normal, being almost totally limited to meeting the needs of travelers abroad and those who are compelled to travel for humanitarian or practical reasons. Mr Shadir emphasized that withdrawals were normal and the transfers were ordinary, the evidence being that the exchange rate of the pound has improved quickly during the last 2 weeks.

Some bankers believe that the main reason for the confusion occurring in the banking sector is the ambiguity of the political situation. There is fear that fighting will continue for a long time, measured in years, in view of the conditions and of the entanglement of local threads with regional and international ones. In contrast, bankers were confident during the Israeli invasion in the summer of 1982 because conditions did not last long, so they arranged their affairs with this expectation. In any case, the prevalent belief is that Lebanese banks will in a short time adjust to circumstances, especially since Mr Shadir is preparing a resolution for an agreement with the Bank of Lebanon on increasing the number of clearing sessions from two per week, on Monday and Thursdays, to perhaps daily meetings in case the banks have finished straightening out the situation and have found the needed solutions.

Concerning the rate of exchange of the pound, the American dollar declined in the local market from 530 to 490 piasters. This sharp decline is attributed to the return of the exchange market to normal after it had closed for 4 days during the Beirut battles, and also to the decline of American currency in international markets. Expectations that the dollar would rise to more than 500 piasters are no longer prevalent in the Lebanese exchange market. Rather, there are contrary expectations about a rise of the Lebanese pound to a level of between 440 and 460 piasters to the dollar, which was its level about a month ago. The rate of exchange of the pound has improved despite the great demand for foreign currencies by travelers. This has impelled observers to say that the country is enjoying sufficient amounts of invisible dollars.

It should be mentioned that while the Beirut market was closed because of the events, the Tripoli market was offering large amounts of dollars for sale, a situation that stopped the deterioration of the pound and the rise of the dollar. The interesting difference is that a number of bankers have come to believe that the price of the pound is less than its true value by 10 percent, while that of the dollar is about 15 percent above its true value. The difference is about 25 percent. Will the pound rise, then, by this ratio when the security situation improves and the dollar assumes its normal size in international markets?

POSSIBLE GOVERNMENT SUPPORT OF AIRLINE INDUSTRY VIEWED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 348, 22 Oct 83 pp 61-62

[Article: "The Lebanese Aviation Sector: The Crisis of Its Companies, Its Future, and Its Structure"]

[Text] Does the Lebanese government want to take over the two Lebanese airline companies and assume the losses they have incurred, or does it want the two companies to become public sector companies totally owned by Lebanese [citizens]?

It is virtually certain that Lebanon, in the near future--especially after Lebanon's situation has settled down somewhat--will be confronted with a great issue. This issue is that of the Lebanese airline industry. The issue will involve the situation of the two Lebanese airlines, their relationship to the government, their relationship to each other, and the relationship of the two firms to the general policy followed [by the Lebanese government] concerning Lebanese aviation.

Of course, this great issue (which is a greater issue than some people believe) has arisen as a result of the many ramified consequences of the war which has been going on for 8 years. One cannot simply say that, if it were not for this war, there would be no problem with Lebanon's airline industry. However, it is safe to say that the war and its direct and indirect effects have accelerated the problem and brought it to a head.

The fact is that the war in Lebanon, which began in 1975, has had a direct effect on the two airline companies, and this effect has been the result of the fact that the Beirut airport has stopped operating for various periods of time which, when totalled up, amount to 350 days--that is, nearly an entire year. The cessation of air traffic in the Beirut airport meant a paralysis of operations for the two companies because the airport, to them, is their home, their point of departure, and their administrative headquarters. The firms actually did continue operating during these periods of time when air traffic came to a halt, but they were only partially in operation and their operations during these periods of time brought no business profits. Operations were continued during these periods of time for the following two basic purposes:



1. Humanitarian reasons. The airlines provided Lebanese citizens with a means of temporary relief [from the war by enabling them to leave Lebanon].

2. Commercial reasons. Both of these airline companies were anxious to stay in the airline market, both in the realm of transporting passengers and that of transporting freight.

Actually the two national airline companies, MEA [Middle East Airlines] and TMA [Trans-Mediterranean Airways], have been facing financial problems which have not been merely the result of the situation in Lebanon and the fact that business activity in Lebanon came to a standstill. The problems have also not merely been the result of the fact that the Beirut airport has lost its special regional role in the Middle East. Another cause of the problems, which has occurred simultaneously with the two above-mentioned causes, has been the fact that international aviation during the last few years has suffered from financial and economic difficulties which have arisen because of a number of factors, the most important of which have been the rise in fuel prices and the decrease in air traffic. This has led to a situation where demand has exceeded supply and the cost of transportation has noticeably gone up. These domestic and international circumstances combined to constitute problems for the aviation sector and to highlight the weaknesses of this sector. This is something which has made it necessary not only to radically revise the situation of the two Lebanese airline companies, but also to revise the structure of this sector as a whole and to change its general policy.

Before proceeding with a presentation of the problems which exist in each of the two airline companies, we should point out the fact that the Lebanese aviation sector possesses a special feature which this sector perhaps does not possess in any other nation.

Lebanon is virtually the only nation of its size or with its number of inhabitants which possesses two airline companies, one of which specializes in transporting passengers and the other of which specializes in transporting freight.

Lebanon also is unique when it comes to its special relationship with its companies. This is particularly true with MEA, which belongs to both the public and private sectors as far as its capital is concerned but which is a private sector company in terms of its administration, programming, and planning.

The situation is also unique in terms of how the government came to own part of the shares of MEA. This is something which happened almost accidentally and without any prior planning or policy. If it were not for the fact that the Intra Bank went bankrupt and was transformed into a financial firm whose shares were 60 percent owned by the government, the government would not have become an owner of MEA by virtue of its ownership of the Intra Investment Company. We believe that this particular feature, which arose spontaneously and by accident, is what is bringing



to light the existing deficiency. The reason is that the situation of the airline industry has changed and is perhaps no longer in harmony with existing frameworks and perhaps has come to require a new form--not necessarily one which would follow models elsewhere in the world. Maintaining this feature is possible, provided that it undergoes development and crystallization.

#### Middle East Airlines

As far as MEA is concerned, it is clear that this firm is facing accumulating financial losses which, by the end of this year, may total 200 million Lebanese pounds. This figure exceeds the firm's capital. In addition to this loss, the firm has another problem. About 2 years MEA concluded, in principle, a contract for the purpose of modernizing its fleet. But this contract may have to be cancelled either due to the financial situation or due to other considerations which space does not allow to be mentioned here.

Cancelling the contract will not solve the problem because the company, both in technical terms and in terms of capital, needs to be modernized, whether through the acquisition of "air buses" or other aircraft. Furthermore, the company, as a result of the airline routes which it presently possesses, requires long-range, medium-range, and short-range aircraft. In other words, it needs a complete fleet in terms of the uses of aircraft.

MEA recently ran into a problem concerning insuring its airplanes against the risks of war when the Lloyds Group in London refused to insure its jumbo jet unless these airplanes were parked outside Lebanon.

MEA currently needs to increase its capital via its basic owners, which include the Lebanese government. If this cannot be done, then the company will need to take out a new loan which will perhaps be more than the first loan which was granted to it and which totalled 150 million Lebanese pounds. All of these problems call for intervention on the part of the government, and this intervention has partially already actually begun.

#### Trans-Mediterranean Airways

TMA faces problems which are fairly similar to those of MEA and which call for intervention [on the part of the government] which would mean subsidizing this private firm in one way or another. Because of the war and because of the decrease in the regional role played by the Beirut airport, this company has lost many of its commercial rights both in terms of its round-trip flights and its flights around the world.

During the last few years, this company has endeavored to regain these rights. However, these efforts have been in vain because circumstances have forced the Lebanese to negotiate from a position of weakness.

Both TMA and MEA have suffered direct losses because of the war, and these losses have sometimes involved installations and at other times have involved aircraft and equipment. This, along with the decrease in

production, the increase in costs, and the increasing competition, has caused the company to incur losses which make it impossible for it to continue operating. As a result, the company started laying off some of its employees. The company has also approached the government for a loan because it needs to cover its losses and needs to modernize its fleet. The company's administration says that the procurement of loans does not mean that it will be able to stop laying off its employees--and the laying off of employees has been creating social complications which are hard to overcome under present circumstances.

#### A Public Utility

In the flood of debate which arose concerning laying off employees at TMA, some people said that these layoffs should not be permitted at all because both TMA and MEA are not private companies whose owners can dispose of them however they wish to. They said that the two firms are a public utility which utilizes capital furnished by the government and operates on the basis of commercial rights granted exclusively to these two companies--rights which may not be granted to any other such company which might be established. They said that, in this sense, the aviation sector is a public sector, even though it is being administered by the private sector. They claim that, on the basis of this, all vital decisions relating to either of the two companies should be taken by the cabinet.

This subject that was brought up is, in fact, a very basic one, even though it requires further definition and the matter requires the guidance which would be provided by a general policy. The basic principle involved for solving the problem lies in finding the answers to the following questions: What is the government's policy with regard to the field of aviation? Does the government consider air travel to be something which is vital to Lebanon and something which is on a par with the other services provided by the government such as water, electricity, roads, and communications?

The answer to the second of these questions is certainly "yes," because the airlines are a vital service which is indispensable. How vital and important this service is was shown when the Beirut International Airport was closed, and it was then that the Lebanese realized what the airlines mean and how significant this sector is. Thus affirmation of the fact that the airlines should be a public utility is something which is both logical and self-evident. However, this affirmation requires that the government provide a certain orientation and follow a clearly-delineated general policy as far as both means and objectives are concerned. When the cabinet affirms that the airlines are a public utility, then this means that the government must provide support for the two companies in order to prevent layoffs. When it affirms that the airlines are a public utility, then the government must compensate the companies for the losses in their installations and aircraft which they suffered due to the war just as the government takes the initiative to repair deficiencies which have been occurring in the telephones, the electricity network, the ports, and the airport.

Undoubtedly the phrase "public utility" which has been used in this connection is the key and basis to the solution. However, it requires further defining and a definite policy must be set which prescribes a comprehensive framework for the entire sector. In particular, the following should be done:

1. Revision of the skeletal and constituent structure of both of the companies. The type of revision would have to be selected from among several options, which include total nationalization, partial nationalization, and giving all Lebanese the right to share in the ownership of the two companies.
2. Definitely settling the matter as to whether two separate companies should exist. Either the two companies should exist separately, with the role of each one being determined, or else they should be merged into one company according to sound principles and terms for merging.
3. After these two matters have been settled, it will be possible for the government to establish a general policy with regard to the airline industry, starting with the matter of commercial rights and ending with the matter of the administration of the establishments. This sector must not be allowed to continue to flounder around without being monitored or being called to account.
4. Every government must have an airline industry, whether it is directly owned [by the government] or owned by the private sector. If the two companies go bankrupt, then the government must take the initiative to establish a new company. This is something which makes it necessary, starting right now, for us to take a comprehensive look into the matter of our aviation and revise and change its structure in accordance with the current situation and in accordance with the changes that have occurred in the airline industry sector. In the context of our international relations, the airline industry sector has become something which is linked to foreign trade and affects all the other relationships. We cannot, as is done in Lebanon today, view the airline industry sector as something which is apart from everything else. Also, it is not reasonable to expect the government to build and develop an airport without getting some obvious benefit from this, whether the benefit is small or great.

Before 1975, Lebanon's special location made its airport particularly important to the U.S., the European nations, and the Arab nations. This was one reason why the two airline companies received enormous commercial rights, and this was something which was made necessary by the fact that the nations of the world needed the Beirut airport. But this situation has now changed, and it has changed either temporarily or it has changed for good. In either case it is necessary to have a comprehensive government policy which takes all of these facts into consideration. Such a general policy should be based on the details and facts involving the two firms, their future, and the future of their employees.

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CSO: 4404/93

## GREATER USE OF AL-QULAY'AT AIRPORT CALLED FOR

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 344, 24 Sep 83 p 47

[Article: "Why the Lebanese Use the al-Qulay'at Airport Instead of Larnaka"]

[Text] For more than 2 weeks the Larnaka (Cyprus) airport has replaced Beirut airport for the Lebanese and the Middle East Airlines, which conducts an average of five to six flights daily from Cyprus to various Arab, European and African capitals. Middle East did well to take this step. It secured a needed outlet for the Lebanese, who travel by sea to Larnaka and from there to the various capitals, and it found partial compensation for the losses weighing on it and amounting to an average of 1.5 million Lebanese pounds every day Beirut airport is closed. Still, flying Middle East airplanes through Larnaka has directed attention anew to al-Qulay'at airport in North Lebanon, and the subject has again been raised and discussed in many circles in all seriousness. It has been pointed out that al-Qulay'at airport is well equipped and can accommodate large aircraft. Both in location and capacity it is much better than Riyaq military airport, which was used by Middle East Airlines once when airport employees went on strike. These circles add that although al-Qulay'at airport is located in a region completely outside the legal authority [of the state], there are nevertheless features of legality existing such as army and security forces and services which political leaders are careful in preserving and in continually demanding their strengthening. Moreover, moving the Lebanese via Beirut harbor would not have occurred had there not been a tacit security agreement about it, considering that one shell a day on the port is enough to disable the entire harbor. Based on that, it may be possible to have a similar agreement for conducting flights from al-Qulay'at airport. It is to be noted that this airport is on Lebanese soil and could provide services for the people of the country instead of the [economic] hemorrhage which the Lebanese suffer through their travel via Larnaka. These circles add that al-Qulay'at airport, if it is authorized for use, may be better than Beirut airport from the point of view of insurance companies, [an issue] which has been raised lately. The circles recall that activities in the north had demanded the authorization of al-Qulay'at airport for use last summer during the Israeli invasion. They considered that those days were a golden opportunity to try this airport. It lacks nothing from the technical side and can be equipped with all necessities, as happened in the case of Riyaq airport.

Al-Qulay'at airport is, of course, not ideal, but it has become necessary and urgent to try it. Its use is economically more feasible than using Larnaka airport, where Middle East Airlines incurs large daily expenses in securing necessary maintenance for their planes. Add to that the expenses of ship travel, which the Lebanese must bear.

## LEBANON

### HADDAD ASKS GOVERNMENT TO REPAIR POWER LINE

JN130817 Marj 'Uyun Lebanon Voice of Hope in Arabic 0600 GMT 13 Nov 83

[Text] Major Hadd, leader of Free Lebanon, has addressed the following appeal: We have preserved and are still preserving southern Lebanon--land, water, people, sovereignty and legitimacy--with all the means in our power. But our financial resources are very limited, and barely sufficient to enable us to undertake the military and war burdens that are our national duty. This has prevented us from carrying out the vital public projects needed by the people in the south. At the same time, we have found out that billions of dollars have entered and are still entering Lebanon to aid the south and its reconstruction. Any simple person who comes to the south and sees its towns and villages is bound to wonder about the whereabouts of those funds, which were originally allocated for the south.

I do not need to list all of the things that are needed by the south and its people. I simply ask for one project--the repair and reopening of the 66 (kvar) high tension power line. This is because we are suffering from a truly suffocating power crisis, which can only be solved by reopening this line from al-Qir'awn to the south. Repairing this line will not only solve the crisis of the south, but will also supply power to the al-Jiyah plants that supply Beirut and other areas. The government has claimed in the past that it could not repair this line for security reasons. We ask: What are the reasons preventing it from repairing this line now?

O minister of water and electricity resources, or honorable ministers: If you really consider the south to be a part of Lebanon and you are indeed working for the interest of the southerner, then translate your concern into tangible actions on the ground. The first should be repairing the aforementioned high tension line as quickly as possible.

At the same time, we address our appeal to all those men of religion, and to those politicians and functionaries who claim to be concerned about the south, and ask them to show their concern and influence by pressuring the government to repair this vital line, instead of instigating the southerner to rise and revolt.

If we lose hope in the Lebanese Government, then nobody should blame us if we officially request the Israeli Government, in the name of all the southerners

and in my name, to repair this vital line for us. We know that Israel will never hesitate to repair this line, especially since it has previously helped in carrying out many humanitarian projects. Therefore, we are awaiting the Lebanese Government's reply to this request.

Signed: Major Haddad, leader of Free Lebanon.

CSO: 4400/64

## LEBANON

### BRIEFS

MULTINATIONAL FORCE, ARMY--Kuwait, 14 Nov (QNA)--In a dispatch from Beirut, the Kuwaiti newspaper AL-SIYASAH has reported that the United States approved a plan, according to which the Lebanese Army and the multinational force will use armed force to enter eastern Beirut. The newspaper continued that the goal is to enable the Lebanese Army to spread its authority in the eastern sector of the Lebanese capital and to confiscate all the weapons there--Beirut being a demilitarized zone with the exception of the army--in order to ensure security and peace in the region. [Text] [GF140830 Doha QNA in Arabic 0755 GMT 14 Nov 83]

CSO: 4404/64

## ECONOMIC GROWTH SURVEYED

Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 27 Oct 83 p 5

[Text]

An official follow-up report on the second year (1982) of the current five-year development plan shows that there has been a quantitative growth in all sectors of the national economy.

The report, just released by the Technical Secretariat of the Development Council shows that daily average oil production in 1982 was 336,000 barrels per day, compared with the 1981 figure of 328,000 barrels, representing an increase of 8,000 barrels per day.

Total electric power production in the Capital area in 1981 was 784 million kilowatts. Last year, it went up to 883 million — an increase of 99 million.

The production of water in the Capital area also registered a significant increase of 581 million gallons. In 1981, the area's total production of water amounted to 2976 million whereas in 1982, the figure went up to 3,557 million gallons.

The total length of asphalt roads in 1981 was 2835 kilometres, while in 1982, it became 2,875 kilometres.

A greater improvement is noticable in respect of paved (graded) roads. In 1982, the Sultanate had a network of 18,123 kilometre long graded roads, while in 1981 the figure was just 16,276 kilometre.

## Phones

An additional number of 2,356 telephone lines was supplied last year. The total number of telephone connections last year was 19,642, as compared with the 1981 figure of 17,286.

In the education sector, the figures quoted by the Development Council report are very encouraging. In 1981, 122,143 students were taught by 6,744 teachers in schools all over Oman. Last year 7,646 teachers were instructing 142,866 students. Thus a total number of 20,723 students were given fresh admission last year.

Two thousand and forty one beds were available in Government hospitals and health centres in 1982, an increase of 175 over the 1981 figure.

Transactions at all the ports in the Sultanate showed improvement. The goods unloaded at Port Qaboos amounted to 2146 thousand tonnes in 1981. Last year the figure went up 2,683 thousand tonnes. At Raysut and Mina al-Fahal, the 1982 figures went up to 422 and 142 thousand tonnes over the 1981 figures of 381 and 131 thousand tonnes respectively.

An additional number of 766 companies were registered with the Government last year, bringing the total number of registered companies to 15,063.



### **Banks**

The number of banks remained the same — 25. But the total number of bank branches all over Oman went up to 162 from 151 in 1981.

About 4,000 people were employed as civil servants in 1982. In 1981, the total number of Government employees in Oman was 40,098. Last year it went up to 440,87.

The Government provided an additional number of 718 houses to low-income earners in 1982. The total number of such houses last year was 2914 as compared with the previous year's figure of 2196.

The vocational training centres, post offices and youth clubs in 1982 were seven, 49 and 48 respectively.

CSO: 4400/62

## EXPANSION OF TELEPHONE SYSTEM PLANNED

Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 27 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by Muzaffar Mohammad]

[Text]

The General Telecommunications Organisation has announced plans to build more telephone exchanges in Salalah and in rural areas in the North.

In Salalah the GTO has decided to build three exchanges in addition to a container exchange which is being provided for interim relief. The new arrangements will provide 12,000 telephone lines to Salalah. With the completion of all exchanges the number of lines will rise to 16,000.

This was disclosed by Mr. Noor Mohammad Abdul Rahman, Executive President of the General Telecommunications Organisation. He said that there is also a plan to boost microwave and radio links to the rural areas. The number of exchanges and their locations will be decided shortly.

Mr. Noor Mohammad said that work is in full swing on the construction of the telecommunications centre near the GTO building which will serve as the main Ruwi Exchange as well as transmission link and transit centre. The centre will be ready by the end of next year.

Similarly all the new telephone exchanges for the Capital Area will be ready by the end of next year. These are being built in Muscat, Muttrah, Ruwi, Al Hajar, Wattayeha, Qurm, Ghalla, Azzaiba, Rusail, Al Khodh and Maabella. The exchnages will provide 44,000 lines to Capital Area residents.

Of existing telephone problems in Muttrah the GTO President said three container exchanges of 1,000 lines each will start functioning in the area from next month.

He hoped this would solve the problem until the permanent exchange is ready next year.

Mr. Noor Mohammad said that the microwave link between Nizwa and Salalah which will be ready by the end of next year will provide initially 960 telephone lines and two television channels.

This can be expanded to 2,700 lines in future. A similar link is being constructed between Nizwa and Ibri.

The GTO President said that work on the construction of a satellite station for a link-up with the Arabsat will be taken in hand shortly and it will be ready in 1984.

ARBITRATION SYSTEM FOR COMMERCIAL DISPUTES REVISED

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 10 Oct 83 p 13

[Article by Fahd al-Sulaymani: "The Text of the New Commercial Arbitration System: Radical Changes in Some of the Provisions of the Old System, With Accompanying Developments Taken Into Consideration"]

[Text] Royal approval has been issued for the new commercial arbitration system which has been prepared by the minister of justice, the minister of commerce, the head of the Board of Grievances, and the head of the Specialists' Division--based on a decision concerning the matter which was made by the Council of Ministers. The arbitration system supersedes the provisions previously issued which concern [the matter dealt with by] this royal decree. The new system stipulates that it is not permissible for government organizations to resort to arbitration in order to solve their disputes with others unless this has been agreed to by the head of the Council of Ministers. It also stipulates that the ruling concerning a dispute must be issued on the date specified in the arbitration document, provided that this document is deposited with the bodies originally authorized to review the dispute. The system also stipulates that it is not permissible to remove an arbitrator unless by mutual consent of the parties in the dispute, the arbitration does not lose its validity as a result of the death of one of the parties in the dispute, and a ruling by the arbitrators shall be issued on the basis of their majority opinion. After a period of 15 days following the date of the notification of the parties in the dispute of the rulings which have been issued, the parties in the dispute shall not be permitted to present their objections to the rulings issued by the arbitrators. The fees to be paid to the arbitrators shall be determined by agreement among the parties in the dispute. The following is the text of the new arbitration system as it appears in the royal decree which was recently issued:

Article 1. An agreement may be concluded to resort to arbitration concerning a given existing dispute, but an agreement may not be concluded in advance to resort to arbitration concerning any dispute which arises as a result of the performance of a given contract.

Article 2. There shall be no arbitration in the case of matters which cannot be settled by reconciliation and agreements reached to resort to arbitration shall not be valid except in the case of individuals having the legal right of disposal.

Article 3. Government organizations shall not be permitted to resort to arbitration to settle their disputes with others unless the head of the Council of Ministers has agreed to this, and a change in this ruling shall be permissible by decision of the Council of Ministers.

Article 4. An arbitrator must possess expertise, must have demonstrated good conduct and behavior, and must be fully qualified. In cases involving more than one arbitrator, there must be an odd number of them.

Article 5. The parties in the dispute shall deposit the arbitration document with the bodies originally authorized to review the dispute. This document must be signed by the parties in the dispute or by their official authorized representatives, and it must also be signed by the arbitrators. This document must state the subject of the dispute, the names of the arbitrators, and the fact that they have agreed to review the dispute. The arbitration document must be accompanied by copies of the various documents dealing with the dispute.

Article 6. The body originally authorized to review the dispute shall undertake the registration of the requests for arbitration submitted to it and it shall issue a decision which says that they constitute the arbitration document.

Article 7. If the parties in the dispute have already agreed to arbitration before the dispute arises or if a decision has been issued to authorize the use of the arbitration document in a given existing dispute, the dispute shall not be reviewed except in accordance with the provisions of this system.

Article 8. The clerk of the body originally authorized to review the dispute shall have the job of making all of the notifications and announcements specified by this arbitration system.

Article 9. The ruling concerning a dispute shall be made on the date specified in the arbitration document unless agreement has been reached to extend this date. If the parties in the dispute have not specified in the arbitration document the deadline by which the ruling must be made, then the arbitrators must issue their ruling within 3 months of the date of the issuance of the decision to authorize the use of the arbitration document, otherwise any of the parties in the dispute may refer the matter to the body originally authorized to review the dispute in order to have this body decide either to look into the matter or to extend the deadline for an additional period of time.

Article 10. If the parties in the dispute do not appoint arbitrators, or if one of the two parties refuses to appoint an arbitrator or arbitrators whom this party alone is supposed to appoint, or if one or more of the arbitrators refuses to do the job, or if he removes himself [from the job], or if an objection arises to his performing the arbitration and he is removed from the job, and the parties in the dispute have [specified] no special terms [for remedying the situation], then the bodies originally authorized to review the dispute shall appoint the necessary arbitrators on the basis of a request from the party in the dispute who wishes to expedite the matter--and this shall be

done in the presence of the other party in the dispute or in his absence after his return to the session held to deal with this matter.

Article 11. An arbitrator may not be removed except by mutual consent of the parties in the dispute. An arbitrator who has been removed may demand compensation if he already began his task before being removed and if the removal was not his fault. Furthermore, he may not be rejected as an arbitrator except by virtue of reasons which occur or emerge after the deposit of the arbitration document.

Article 12. A request for the rejection of an arbitrator shall be for the same reasons that the rejection of a judge is requested. The request for rejection shall be referred to the body originally authorized to review the dispute within 5 days after the party in the dispute has been notified of the appointment of the arbitrator or the day of the emergence or occurrence of the reason for the rejection. A ruling concerning the request for rejection shall be made after the parties in the dispute and the arbitrator whose rejection is requested have been summoned to a session held for the purpose of deciding this matter.

Article 13. An arbitration does not lose its validity upon the death of one of the parties in the dispute. Instead, the date specified for the arbitration ruling shall be extended 30 days, unless the arbitrators decide to extend the period for a time longer than this.

Article 14. If an arbitrator is appointed in the place of an arbitrator who has been removed or who has removed himself, the date specified for the issuance of the arbitration ruling shall be extended 30 days.

Article 15. The arbitrators may, in accordance with the same majority opinion necessary for issuing an arbitration ruling, decide on the reason for [setting] a particular date for the ruling based on circumstances having to do with the dispute.

Article 16. The arbitrators' ruling shall be issued on the basis of a majority opinion. If they are authorized to bring about a reconciliation, then their ruling must be issued on the basis of a unanimous opinion.

Article 17. The arbitration ruling document shall include, in particular, the arbitration document, a summary of the testimony made by the parties in the dispute, their documents related to the dispute, the reasons for the ruling, the text of the ruling, the date the ruling has been issued, and the signatures of the arbitrators--and if one or more of them has refused to put his signature to the ruling, this fact shall be recorded in the ruling.

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CSO: 4404/37

SAUDI ARABIA

SABIC TO SELL PART OF STOCKS TO GULF PUBLIC

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 3 Oct 83 p 17

[Article: "A QNA Report from Riyadh Says: 'The Sale of Part of SABIC's Stocks to Citizens of the GCC Nations Will Be the Most Important Business Event of Next Year, and Saudi Arabia Made This Decision on the Basis of the Principles of Islam and Assetts That the GCC Is an Organization Which Embraces a People Whose Nations and Individuals Are Closely Linked To Each Other'"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers has recently decided to set aside 10 percent of the shares of SABIC [the Saudi Basic Industries Corporation] for citizens of the GCC [Gulf Cooperation Council] nations.

A report by QNA [the Qatar News Agency] from its correspondent in Riyadh mentions that the Saudi Ministerial Committee right now is discussing and establishing the rules having to do with circulating the company's shares and that this is a prelude to the operation of putting the shares up for public subscription throughout the GCC nations next January.

The correspondent added that this decision will be the [most important] business event for the Arabs in 1984. He said that this is because of the features involved in the decision which have the goal of consolidating and strengthening the ties of brotherhood which exist between the peoples of the GCC nations within the framework of a field test which is considered to th the first of its kind.

Dr Ghazi al-Qusaybi, the minister of industry and electricity, in a statement to AL-RIYAD, described this decision as follows: "It represents a historic event in the annuals of industrial cooperation in the Gulf area. The decision was issued by order of King Fahd." Concerning the background, dimensions, and consequences of the decision, the QNA report has the following to say: "The facts indicate [that the basis for this action was] the creed of Islam, which has served as the basis and guideline for the nation of Saudi Arabia ever since its establishment by King 'Abd al-'Aziz. Freedom has been one of the basic elements of Islam's principles, laws, and articles of legislation, and Islam has applied the principle of freedom in the various walks of life as long as it is freedom which benefits the Muslim community as a whole. In addition to this, Islam has guaranteed Muslims the right to a decent life and has made it incumbent on governments to make it possible for them to live a life of security

and tranquility. This is why Islam, in addition to its other laws, has an economic law which guarantees Muslims the right to exercise their economic freedom in a manner which promotes the prosperity of the Muslim community. This is why the creed of Islam constitutes the basic background for the issuance of this decision, particularly since Saudi Arabia is a nation which puts the free economy system into practice in accordance with Islamic law--the law which serves as the nation's guideline and which governs the nation in the various walks of life of its people.

"As for the dimensions of this decision, there are a number of objectives involved. They include the consolidation of the ties between the peoples of the GCC nations, the creation of incentives for young people to participate in building up the economies of the nations of the area, and the provision of profit incentives for all of the citizens of the Gulf area. In addition to this, the enterprises whose shares will be put up for public subscription are enterprises which have an international market and demand for [the products of these enterprises] is still steadily increasing. But more important than this is the necessity of striving to achieve common interests which will link the peoples of the nations of the area and will strengthen their trade relations--in addition to the historical and spiritual relations as well as the common destiny which already link the peoples of the area.

"This decision also indicates that Saudi Arabia's political leaders, who are embarking upon this vital project, realize the SABIC's enterprises are both fruitful and successful ones. The Saudi people and the peoples of the GCC nations must take this opportunity to assume possession of and administer these enterprises for their own benefit. They must do so in the belief that the role of their political leaders does not go beyond the stage of construction [of the enterprises concerned], and that it is up to the people themselves, as represented by their private economic sector, to assume their role and reap the fruits of these enterprises--fruits which will doubtless bring prosperity to everyone."

As for SABIC itself, the ownership of which will gradually be turned over to Saudi and Gulf Arab citizens, the QNA report has the following to say: "This corporation constitutes a serious and realistic expression of the determination of our political leaders to get the utmost benefit out of Saudi Arabia's natural resources. This was the reason for the issuance of the royal decree establishing SABIC in September of 1976, with an initial capital of 10 billion Saudi riyals, with the intention being that the corporation work together with the Royal Commission for al-Jubayl and Yanbu' in order to transform those two areas into the largest two industrial cities in the world as far as the field of petrochemicals, iron, steel, aluminum, and fertilizers is concerned. Due to the great importance of these two industrial cities, the chairmanship of the Royal Commission for al-Jubayl and Yanbu' was entrusted to King Fahd when he was still the crown prince. He had experience [with such projects], he indicated his aspirations concerning the implementation of these important industries, and he was the one who chose the two cities on the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. Dr Ghazi al-Qusaybi, the minister of industry, was entrusted with the responsibility of being chairman of the board of the corporation, and

he expended his best efforts in order to see to it that the installations of the enterprises were built."

The correspondent goes on to say: "The construction of these enterprises was not an easy task. During the past 8 years tremendous efforts have been expended in order to finish them since they have been regarded as constituting a strong foundation for the basic industries which used to be called 'the heavy industries.' The objective of setting up these industries has been to supply local industries with all of their needs in terms of raw materials and semi-manufactured goods and to export the surplus to foreign countries. Another objective has been to provide support for the industrial efforts undertaken by Saudi Arabia in order to further its development--a development which has been unprecedented in any other part of the world in terms of the record time during which this development has been achieved."

The QNA report also mentions that it has been decided that the first stage of the project will be that of putting up 2 billion riyals [worth of shares] for public subscription and that 200 million riyals worth of this total will be set aside for the citizens of the GCC nations. The report also indicates that the principles which will regulate the circulation of these shares which will be put up for public subscription next January will serve as a sound beginning for the establishment of a Gulfwide securities market, especially since the Gulf common market has already actually begun its establishment by means of its implementation of the first two phases of the GCC unified economic agreement.

Here we should also actually mention the fact that His Majesty Shaykh Khalifah ibn Hamad Al Thani, the Amir of Qatar, was the first person to call for the establishment of the Gulf common market on the basis of it being a strong foundation for any effort to unify the nations of the area.

In concluding his report, the QNA correspondent in Riyadh said: "The Saudi decision to set aside 10 percent of the shares of SABIC for the citizens of the GCC nations, on the whole, provides a great impetus for the GCC itself since it supports the solidarity of the family of Gulf Arab nations. It thereby constitutes a refutation of the position taken by some academic people and analysts who have described the GCC as being a pan-Arab organization [consisting of nations having distinct nationalities] because the decision to allow the Gulf citizens of any member nation of the GCC to own [shares in SABIC] confirms the fact that the GCC is an organization which embraces a people [whose nations and individuals are] closely linked to each other and who are citizens of fellow-Arab nations which are linked by ties of history, geography, blood, and common interest under the umbrella of the creed of Islam."

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CSO: 4404/37



UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

ABU DHABI EXECUTES 100 PROJECTS IN FIRST HALF OF 1983

Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 14 Sep 83 p 16

[Article by Ahmad Sa'id: "During the First Half of this Year, 100 Projects Have Been Completed in Abu Dhabi, at a Total Cost of 2.85 Billion Dirhams"]

[Text] The number of projects completed in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi, during the period from 1 January to the end of June, was 100, at a total final cost of more than 2.85 billion dirhams. The concluding payments for these projects amounted to 195.5 million dirhams.

These projects were listed as follows:

Office of the Municipality of Abu Dhabi and City Planning completed 27 projects.

Office of the Municipality of al'Ayn, 21 projects.

Office of Public Works, 19 projects.

Water and Electricity Board, 15 projects.

Office of the ruler's representative in the Eastern District, 10 projects.

Bureau of Agriculture and Livestock Production, 8 projects.

Among the most important projects completed by the Public Works Office was the construction of 5,000 low cost housing units in the emirate, costing 667.3 million dirhams, expanding and deepening the Umm al-Nar canal (excavation and reclamation) at a cost of 140 million dirhams, and the emirate council building in Abu Dhabi, costing 114 million dirhams.

Moreover, the Water and Electricity Board completed the West Umm al-Nar power station, at a cost of 615.9 million dirhams, and the desalinization station costing 335.4 million dirhams.

On the other hand, the total emergency projects authorized by the Executive Council during the first half of this year, was 36, including 19 projects for the Works Office, 5 for the Office of the Municipality of Abu Dhabi and City

Planning, 7 for the Office of the Ruler's representative in the Eastern District, and 5 projects for the Office of the Municipality and Agriculture in al-'Ayn. The estimated cost for these projects amounts to 625.8 million dirhams, with 155.5 million dirhams authorized for them in this year's budget.

The most important of these projects were construction of a number of schools in Abu Dhabi, al-'Ayn, and the Western District, additional classrooms in Abu Dhabi, along with the rebuilding of some unsuitable schools or those affected by planning. There was also the maintenance and restoration of some other schools. The estimated cost for these projects was 399 million dirhams, of which 95.3 million was authorized in this year's budget.

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UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

CIVIL SERVICE REPORT ON GOVERNMENT APPOINTEES

Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 21 Sep 83 p 9

[Article: "Percentage of Citizens Appointed Over Others Is 27.78 Percent; Education Leads in Appointments, With Health Second"]

[Text] The annual report concerning the workers and accomplishments of the Civil Service Board for 1982 states that the total number of appointments in the various UAE ministries for last year was 4,860 officials, including 1,235 citizens or 27.78 percent.

The appointments were distributed throughout the ministries as follows: 2,044 in the Ministry of Education and Youth, 1,328 in the Ministry of Health, 117 in the Ministry of Culture and Information, 81 in the Ministry of Interior, 67 in the Ministry of Public Works and Housing, 148 in the Ministry of Electricity and Water, [60 in the Ministry of Public Works and Housing, 148 in the Ministry of Electricity and Water,] [sic] 60 in the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, 71 in the Ministry of Communications, 11 in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 98 in the Ministry of Justice, Islamic Affairs and Awqafs, 370 in the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, 61 in the Ministry of Finance and Industry, 278 in the Ministry of State for Cabinet Affairs, 89 in the Ministry of Planning, 19 in the Ministry of Economy and Commerce, 7 in the Ministry of Oil and Mineral Resources, 7 in the Office of the Prime Minister, 1 in the Ministry of State for Supreme Council Affairs and 29 in the Office of Protocol.

It stated in the report that the total number of promotions made during last year in the various UAE ministries was 943.

The number of school leaves were 54, and training courses numbered 96.

The total number of decisions made by the Civil Service Board was 635 decisions and recommendations, and the total number of cabinet decisions concerning recommendations of the Civil Service Board was 132.

Moreover, the total number of employees in the various UAE ministries, as of 31 December 1982, was 40,463, of which citizens comprised 21.22 percent.

The report indicated that the number of male workers under local contract amounted to 3,712 while the number of female workers under local contract was 9,180. The number of males under foreign contract was 2,002, while females numbered 1,507.

The report reviewed the total annual development of workers in the various ministries, as follows:

In 1978, the total number of workers was 29,627, compared with 32,398 in 1979. In 1980, the total was 26,467, compared with 40,112 in 1981. In 1982, the total number of workers had become 40,463.

The total number of citizens employed in the various ministries developed as follows:

In 1978, their number was 10,341, while in 1979 it was 11,085. In 1980, it amounted to 11,776, and in 1981, it was 12,632. In 1982, the total number of citizens employed was 12,631.

Regarding the development of the total number of Arabs employed, they numbered some 16,922 in 1982, compared with 19,187 in 1981, 17,290 in 1980, 14,783 in 1979 and 12,567 Arab employees in 1978.

With respect to the number of foreign employees, the report divided them into five nationalities: Asian, African, European, American and Australian.

With regard to Asians, the number of those employed in the ministries totaled 8,741 in 1982, compared with 8,106 employees in 1981, 7,178 in 1980, 6,205 in 1979 and 5,500 in 1978.

As for workers of African nationality, their numbers in the ministries developed from 72,000 [sic] in 1978 to 60 in 1979. It then went to 63 in 1980, 62 in 1981 and then 68 employees in 1982.

European employees numbered 131 in 1978, 122 in 1979, 136 in 1980, 105 in 1981 and then 77 employees in 1982.

Americans numbered 15 in 1978, 43 in 1979, 19 in 1980, 15 in 1981 and 9 in 1982.

Australians totaled 5 employees in 1980 and 1981, with the number declining to 4 in 1982.

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## INVESTMENT PROJECTS BUDGETS PROPOSED

Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 6 Sep 83 p 2

[Article by 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Utman: 1.6 billion Dirhams Set Aside, the Sums for the Ministries and Federal Agencies with Details of the Projects, Projected Credits Allowed in this Year's Budget]

[Text] All the state ministries and federal agencies presented the budgets for their projects for last year 1983, the total volume of which was 1.6 billion dirhams. Yesterday the Ministry of Finance and Industry sent to these ministries and agencies a text of the projects of the investments program in the state budget for this year. The ministries learned the details of the projects that have been agreed upon and the financial credits allotted for their expenditures for these projects.

The implementation of the ministries' projects have been divided into two parts. One part that will be implemented by the Ministry of Housing and Public Works for the ministries, for which a sum of 808,377,000 dirhams has been allotted. The other part will be implemented directly by the ministries concerned, for which a sum of 770,623,000 dirhams has been set aside. In addition, under the projects heading a sum of 35 million dirhams has been allocated for agriculture and fishing loans for the public to use during this year. Nearly 4 million dirhams will be spent of the total projects credits for new projects while nearly 1.2 billion will be spent to complete current projects.

The Ministry of Housing and Public Works will be executing the ministries projects for which the following schedule has been allotted:

Ministry	Millions of Dirhams
Interior	212.6
Justice	48.8
Islamic Affairs	17.2
Education and Instruction	194.4
Health	148.7
Works	168
Communications	207.4

[continued on following page]

Electricity and Water	369
Agriculture	150
Foreign	50.2
Information	35.9
Social Affairs	2.6
State Hosting	5.2
The United National Council	15
Finance and Industry	23
Petroleum and Mineral Wealth	1

The Ministry of Finance and Industry has already sent to all the state ministries a text of their budgets for the current year which includes first, second, and third headings as well as the imports they are allowed to receive, and the public endorsements accompanying the law related to public budgeting for the Emirates for fiscal year 1983.

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AL-SHARIQAH CITY IMPLEMENTS NEW MUNICIPAL DECENTRALIZATION PLAN

Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 7 Sep 83 p 6

[Text] 'Abd al-Latif Fadl, director of al-Shariqah municipality, described the projects that the municipality will be executing by saying that they are not departures from the basic structure of the Emirate, either directly or indirectly, nor do they have any commercial or profit motives. He used as examples the public markets with their different specializations, or the sewage system, or planting, or sanitation, or other projects and activities where the municipality plays an important role in protecting the city from disease or in working to beautify the city, all activities which bolster efforts to build a tourism sector which would drive al-Shariqah's cultural life.

The mayor of al-Shariqah said in a press statement that the municipality had finished setting up and equipping branch city offices that will work in all districts of al-Shariqah city. These will aim to provide more effective services to individuals quickly and efficiently. Meanwhile city hall proper will deal with most activities such as the board of health, sanitation, building inspection, street cleaning, and planting.

Decentralization

He added that the building of these offices is dependent on the principle of decentralizing by reducing the services at city hall in advance in order that in the future these offices will become branch city offices that will offer all of the services and undertake all of the duties now done at the central city hall.

He said that the city has been divided into 8 districts, each district possessing its own office. The direction of each office has been set up in the districts of al-Ramlah, First Industrial, 7th Industrial, al-Khazamiyah, al-Qadisiyah, al-Nasiriyah, al-Khalidiyah, and al-Sur so that these districts will be subsidized with their own budgets and salaries needed to enable the workers to provide the service they are charged to do.

### Commercial Cooperatives

He said that beginning on the first of October the commercial cooperatives that have been recently completed and that include nine small markets at the first stage will begin operations in al-Khazamiyah, al-Rifa'iyah, Halwan, al-Talla', and al-Marqab districts.

Also during the second stage beginning this week eight new markets will be established in Halwan, al-Shuhaba, al-Ruqqah, Simnan, al-Khalidiyah districts. Each of these markets will include a large supermarket, and stalls for fruit, vegetables, bakers, barbers, and tailors in order to deliver services to the public by concentrating stores in one point, at points throughout al-Shariqah.

### Food Inspection Laboratory

He said that the municipality was currently preparing a fully-equipped, modern food laboratory at the board of health in the municipal hall to analyze foodstuffs and to verify their suitability for human consumption. It is also executing a new sewage project that will be ready at the beginning of next winter, as well as a project in the first stage to build a city garage and housing units for city employees.

Also the municipality is now building eight public restrooms in al-Shariqah, and additional new buildings for the municipal government. It is also extending new irrigation lines by a total length of nearly 25 kilometers as well as building irrigation tanks in al-Hazzam al-Akhdar, al-Falaj, al-Buhayrah Khalid and other districts.

### Planting Projects

About the planting projects being undertaken by the municipality Mr Fadl said that the municipality is now planting along the principal streets of al-Shariqah city and on the airport road, nearly 15 kilometers long, and on the Buhayrah Khalid Corniche road. It is also planting Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir Street, and it is building a park garden at al-Falaj which will have an area of 9.6 hectares, and another garden at government plaza, and a garden at the airport, in addition to planting at al-'Urubah, Old Fort, al-Wahdah street, and a number of traffic circles in order to make green areas in the city following the instructions of his Excellency Shaykh Sultan bin Muhammad al-Qasimi, member of the supreme council.

He pointed out that the municipality wishes to work in the Emirate residents' public interest, and out of a concern for that it has undertaken the task of food inspection. It has authorized a special plan for the health department to step up inspections of grocery shops, supermarkets, restaurants, meat and fresh and frozen fish shops, and other places.



## Rents

He denied that the municipality has a new ordinance to regulate the relations between landlord and renter. He said that the municipality has begun to apply the law in this area that was issued in the state decree of his Excellency, ruler of al-Shariqah, on 25 May 1977, which requires that all rental contracts be recorded at city hall, and which prevents the landlord from raising the rent for 5 years after the contract has been recorded.

Mr Fadl said that in spite of lowering rents in other Emirates the municipality does not intend to require landlords to reduce rents because the city offices have been unable to enforce the rents law in accordance with its clauses because the municipal council decided in its session on 14 November 1981 to increase rents on housing units by 15 percent and on commercial spaces by 25 percent in accordance with the first paragraph of article six of the said law.

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SEVERAL MILLION DIRHAMS ALLOTTED TO BUILD CENTRAL SEWAGE PLANT

Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 6 Sep 83 p 2

[Article by Mahir al-Kayali: "First stage to be Completed at the End of 1987"]

[Text] Dubayy municipality has completed the final plans for a project to build a new central sewage plant for Dubayy Emirate on al-'Uwayr road.

Qasim Sultan, deputy director of the municipality, explained this and he indicated that total expenditures on the project will amount to 600 million dirhams and the construction of the first stage of the project will last 3 years.

He added that the effluent, which will be returned to the station for purification for use in irrigation, will cover the needs of the costs of irrigation of the currently cultivated lands in Dubayy Emirate, including parks, gardens, and public thorough fares, in addition to new agricultural and planting projects that will come into existence in the next 5 to 20 years.

Qasim Sultan explained that it was expected that work on the first stage of the project would end at the end of 1987 or early 1988.

The deputy director of the municipality indicated that officials at the municipality have since last week begun work on a general study of the sewage project in Dubayy, and the new station in particular.

He explained that in view of the importance of the new project a specialist in this field from the Un was consulted to examine the project proposed by the municipal council concerned with this work.

Qasim Sultan said that work was completed after a detailed and exhaustive study of the final plans of the project at which time the planning commission held a meeting with the UN expert in the presence of the municipal council, and during it all of the aspects related to the project were discussed until its final form was agreed on. Now it will be put to tender bidding subject to the modifications recommended by the expert.

He indicated concerning this matter that the UN expert made a study of all the hitherto implemented projects and the project to build the new station. He expressed some options and proposals which the municipality will take into consideration.

He added that a number of meetings were held between officials of the two administrative departments, technicians, consultants working in this field, and the UN expert to discuss the proposals and options.

Qasim Sultan aired his hope that all the proposals connected with the sewage projects in the Emirate will be implemented so that it can offer its services in the most comprehensive manner. He said that the municipality is currently implementing special proposals to upgrade the efficiency of the present sewage plant.

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## UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

### BRIEFS

AL-'AYN COMMERCIAL LICENSES UP--Commercial trade in the al-'Ayn area experienced significant improvement during the past month. The percentage of increase in the number of licenses issued by the Department of Commercial Licenses in the Municipality of al-'Ayn amounted to 26 percent compared with the previous month. The number of licenses issued by the department during the month of August was 326, compared with 254 licenses issued during July. The department has issued a report concerning commercial licensing activity in the al-'Ayn area during August, in which the department reports issuing 326 licenses, including 85 for commercial shops, 145 for trades and professions, 34 for merchants and importers, 56 for contractors and 6 licenses for engineering professions. These figures confirm that there was a tangible improvement in commercial activity in the al-'Ayn area during the month of August, compared with July. The total number of licenses issued by the Municipality of al-Ayn during July was 254, including 68 for commercial shops, 110 for trades or professions, 32 for merchants and importers, 42 for contractors, and 2 licenses for engineers. The statistics make it clear that there was an approximate 26 percent increase in the number of licenses issued. On the other hand, commercial activity in the al-'Ayn area was affected by the economic conditions that the country is currently experiencing, since the number of licenses issued during August was about 19 percent less than those issued in the same month last year. The number of licenses issued in August was 326, whereas the number issued in August 1982 was 389. [Text] [Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 14 Sep 83 p 16] 7005

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CUBAN JOURNALIST INTERVIEWS 'ALI NASIR MUHAMMAD ON CURRENT ISSUES

Havana GRANMA in English 23 Oct 83 Weekly Review p 9

['Ali Nasir Muhammad "exclusive interview" with Ariel Zapata, PRENSA LATINA reporter; place, date not given]

[Text] ● **Journalist:** Comrade President, in your recent speech to the armed forces at the conclusion of the Radfan '83 military maneuvers, you spoke of the need to defend the Yemeni homeland and uphold the banners of scientific socialism. You have defined the Yemeni Revolution as national-democratic with socialist horizons. My question is how can the October 14th Revolution be defined in political and ideological terms? Is the Yemeni Socialist Party a party of the new type? Has it adopted the ideology of scientific socialism?

**President:** Allow me to start where you ended. The process of construction of the Yemeni Socialist Party took place after a long and complicated struggle in the national movement dating back to the decade of the '30s. The Party was built up in the framework of strengthening the power of the poor, in a popular democratic vein, and the deepening revolutionary class structure of society based on the close unity between workers and all poor sectors of the country. This process also involved defending the ideas of scientific socialism among the masses. From the time of the June 22 corrective move<sup>(1)</sup>, these ideas were a strong current in the political and moral life of the Yemeni masses. Let me say that the fundamental documents and programs determining the course of the revolutionary process in our country, in different spheres — economic, social, ideological and the building of the Party — are documents grounded on the ideas of scientific socialism. These documents have served as a guide to power and all aspects of life in general since the holding of the 5th Congress<sup>(2)</sup> of the National Front political organization and they also function as a guide in the process of implementing these goals in this stage of the national-democratic revolution with socialist horizons.

We define this stage as part of the national-democratic revolution with socialist horizons, but this does not obscure the fact that our Party is a party of a new type, guided by and committed to the ideas of scientific socialism.

However, this does not mean immediately taking on the socialist construction of society. We must bear in mind that the working class and its allies cannot build socialism without first having a revolutionary party with a class

consciousness that represents the true interests of these classes.

Describing this as a period of socialist horizons does not deny the course of historical development towards socialism. It confirms it. Thanks to the creative use of the theory of scientific socialism in analyzing the mission to be undertaken in the transitional period, the development of young countries which strive for socialism without having passed through the capitalist stage of development is assured. In the phase of the national-democratic revolution, the mission is of a national-democratic nature. As the popular, democratic roots of the social system deepen in the period of the national-democratic revolution, so can there be observed a crystallizing of the class structure of society in favor of the worker alliance with other poor sectors of the population. Thus there is an opening up of socialist horizons for further revolutionary development, aimed at laying the objective and subjective foundations for the construction of socialism.

**Journalist:** What are the main achievements of the Yemeni Revolution in 16 years of independence and what are the main problems that have been confronted?

**President:** We have made important gains in various spheres of social progress. This can be seen in diverse branches of the economy such as industry, agriculture, transportation, supply, electrification and housing. It can also be seen in the broadening of general and university education and other achievements in the cultural field, the development of health programs and consolidation of defense and security forces. All this has culminated in the founding of the Yemeni Socialist Party as an offshoot of the struggle of our people and its revolutionary movement.

Thanks to the revolutionary class policy of our Party, all these achievements have been placed at the service of our working and poor people who are the grass-roots representatives in the class structure of our society in the period of the national-democratic revolution with socialist horizons.

It is indisputable that the process of economic, social and cultural construction has encountered

serious problems due to the sad legacy left by 129 years of colonial rule. This was a legacy of illiteracy, underdevelopment and division of the Yemeni homeland. On independence day, our country lacked the necessary foundations for its development. The national-democratic government had to lay the groundwork for those conditions with electrification, roads, schools, etc. There have been difficulties that have blocked the path of economic development of our society, stemming from low income and the backwardness of productive forces. This has been aggravated by problems created by imperialist forces with their plots and attacks hitting out at our progressive government and weakening the revolutionary process, in order to block the independent social process of our people.

Thanks to our deep faith in the principles of the tradition of national liberation and social progress; thanks to the grouping together of the masses behind the Party, Revolution and progressive government and the determination to fight on two fronts for socioeconomic construction and for defense of the Revolution and the homeland; and thanks to our profound alliance with the international revolutionary movement, headed by the USSR and other countries of the socialist community, we have overcome difficulties and been able to attain many significant gains. That is the path along which our Party and people will continue in the struggle for the construction of a new society with socialist horizons.

**Journalist:** We are aware of the just aspirations for unity between North and South Yemen. Could you tell us about the main achievements on your recent visit to the Arab Republic of Yemen?

**President:** Our visit to the northern part of our homeland was for the start of the first meeting of the Yemeni Supreme Council established during the visit to Aden by brother President Ali Abdullah Saleh in November 1981.

My recent visit was a continuation of the meetings and visits between leaders of the two countries in all fields, in line with the unity agreements signed by both with a view to the reunification of our Yemeni homeland, people and territories, in a peaceful and democratic manner.

The meetings, dialogues and broadening ties of cooperation and coordination that have developed of late between the two sides have laid peaceful foundations for the further implementation of unity agreements. This is a policy which is supported by Yemeni people all over our homeland. Along with our brothers in the northern part of the country, we worked hard for this first meeting of the Yemeni Supreme Council to have a positive outcome. The next important step is to implement this for the dawning of unity, which is an aspiration of the masses in the two parts of the homeland.

For our part, we are working in close coordination with our brothers in the North to implement what has been agreed upon, and I can assure you that we will continue working to obtain greater success in the process of uniting the homeland in the future.

**Journalist:** During the last few weeks, imperialist military forces — air, naval and ground forces — undertook large-scale maneuvers in some African and Gulf states. Do you feel that these maneuvers pose a threat to the Ethiopian

and Yemeni Revolutions?

**President:** Yes, of course, not just to us but to all the Arab and African liberation movement, especially since they take place at a time of growing U.S. military presence in the region. This has been shown by the establishment of military bases, a bigger fleet and the dispatch of Rapid Deployment Forces to many Arab and African countries.

**Journalist:** The internationalist position of the Yemeni Revolution is well-known, along with its firm support for the Palestinian people. What is your view of aggressive U.S.-Israeli policy in Lebanon and how can the Palestinian-Lebanese revolutionary movement and progressive forces in the region best cope with growing U.S.-Zionist intervention?

**President:** In our opinion, aggressive U.S. and Israeli policy in the area is based on the U.S. military presence in the Arab world, which in turn the basis for the strategic military alliance worked out two years ago between the United States and Israel. The most notable elements in this alliance have been the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the military presence of the United States in that country under the guise of the multinational forces. The results of this have been evident in the massacres and acts of genocide committed against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and their national-democratic forces. This shifted the balance of forces in favor of the U.S.-Zionist alliance, which is an enemy of the Arab peoples. That is why the alliance, and the maneuvers you mentioned previously, along with the Israeli stand of continued operations in Arab countries and increased aggression against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, is another link in the chain of imperialist-Zionist attacks faced by the Arab liberation movement and a threat to the security and stability of this sensitive part of the world. This poses for us the task of dealing with this U.S. military presence as a priority mission in the struggle of the Arab peoples in this phase.

That is why it is very important for all components of the Arab national liberation movement, including Syria, the forces of the Palestinian Revolution and Lebanese progressive, patriotic forces on the front line of confrontation with the enemy to strengthen their unity, bring order to their ranks and increase their combat potential in the face of enemy challenge, and fulfill their national liberation mission in this difficult stage of the Arab people's struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

**Journalist:** We are familiar with the position of Democratic Yemen and its international efforts to have the Indian Ocean declared a zone of peace. In your view, what are the causes which have prevented fulfillment of this important and just objective?

**President:** We have made and continue to make efforts along with other interested countries concerned about security and stability in the region, to eliminate imperialist military bases in the Indian Ocean and transform it into a zone of peace. We called for a summit conference of countries on the peninsula, the Gulf and the Horn of Africa, along with other interested parties, to eliminate imperialist military bases in the zone and safeguard peace and security for peoples in the region. We support all peaceful proposals to safeguard the security of the Indian Ocean and countries bordering on it, especially the proposal presented by the Soviet

Union in 1981.

As you know, the imperialist countries, and especially the United States, try to obstruct all international efforts to promote peace in the area in order to hold on to their bases in some of the Indian Ocean islands and straits. Many of these are nuclear bases. The United States also did all it could to prevent the holding of the UN Conference on the Indian Ocean, and they have always opposed any international peace initiative to eliminate foreign military bases there. They have also tried to prevent countries in the region from contributing to their own security and stability. However, we will spare no effort to work with all peace fighters to assure the security of the Indian Ocean and international peace, and we will face up to the dangers resulting from aggressive trends among international imperialist forces.

**Journalist:** In your opinion, what role should the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries play given the aggressive, warmongering policy of the Reagan administration in various zones of international conflict?

**President:** The preservation of international peace is a noble and important mission for all peace-loving forces, to distance humanity from a devastating nuclear war. That would be the outcome of growing aggression on the part of imperialist forces seeking to worsen international tension, to increase the arms race and the production and stockpiling of neutron bombs and to encourage the use of force to settle international conflicts, favoring the aggressive and expansionist policies of their reactionary puppets while slandering the socialist and other independent countries.

In this framework, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries represents an important international force whose objectives and principles are an extraordinary contribution to the struggle to lay the necessary groundwork for peaceful coexistence among peoples and new international economic and information orders, guaranteeing the opportunities for international cooperation on a just and equitable footing.

The success of the Movement in retaining its unity and cohesion and its meaningful contribution to the solution of international problems, its support for the just struggle of the peoples for freedom and progress in Africa, Asia and Latin America and its opposition to imperialist aggression and expansionism are important contributions to the struggle to cope with the danger of devastating wars and to safeguard international peace.

**Journalist:** UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar recently visited South Africa and did not achieve what was hoped for regarding independence for Namibia. Meanwhile, there are continuing attacks by counterrevolutionary groups and the South African armed forces on Angola and Mozambique. These countries also face intense political and economic pressure. What is your view of the racist policy of the Pretoria regime?

**President:** Racism is a leading manifestation of the international imperialist system. As the crisis of contemporary capitalism becomes more acute, so racism has been linked to aggressive and expansionist trends and is a leading manifestation of the activities of imperialism and its lackeys. Like the racist Zionist state of Israel, the Pretoria regime bases its power on its close organic ties with international imperialist forces,

with the United States in the lead. The United States gives these two racist regimes full political, moral, economic and military support. It uses them as watchdogs, servants for its operations to plunder the resources and property of Arab and African peoples and to impose its hegemony over those peoples.

The struggle against imperialism and its reactionary, racist and dictatorial lackeys in Asia, Africa and Latin America is closely intertwined, which is why it is important to strengthen the unity and solidarity of all the component parts of the national liberation movement on these continents and deepen their militant alliance with the countries of the socialist community, with the Soviet Union at its head.

We make no distinction between the racist regime in Pretoria — which practices racial discrimination, insists on not recognizing the rights of the Namibian people and continues in its attacks on Angola and Mozambique — and the Zionist regime in Israel which violates the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians, illegally holds Arab land and orchestrates barbaric acts of genocide against thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese, while escalating aggressions against the Arab peoples, governments and national democratic forces. As part of the Arab liberation movement, we share in the struggle for national liberation of the peoples of Namibia, Angola and Mozambique against the alliance between the racist Pretoria regime and U.S. imperialism and the just struggle of all African peoples for a new life and national progress.

**Journalist:** What can you tell us about the situation in Central America and the Caribbean and the U.S.-Israeli policy of support for military dictatorships there?

**President:** Central America is a hot spot in the national liberation struggle in which the peoples and revolutionary forces wage a heroic battle for national liberation, democracy and independent social progress, against military dictatorships linked to U.S. imperialism. It should come as no surprise that the United States and Israel support and arm dictatorial regimes in Central America which are in trouble because of the peoples' struggle. The will of the people always prevails, and nothing can destroy the will of a people fighting for liberation and national progress. Nor can any force indefinitely prolong the life of dictatorial minorities. Just as the Cuban and Nicaraguan Revolutions and other revolutions elsewhere were victorious, so will the peoples of Guatemala, El Salvador, Chile and other Central and Latin American hot spots be victorious.

**Journalist:** Comrade President, you were a leading participant in the struggle against British colonialism and reactionary plans to destroy the Revolution of October 14. As such, and as Party and state leader of Democratic Yemen, do you have a message for the peoples of Guatemala, El Salvador, Chile and other Latin American countries seeking national liberation?

**President:** We in Democratic Yemen, the people, Party and government, closely follow the struggle of the Latin American peoples against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. Increasing U.S. imperialist plots and aggression against countries on that militant continent are a source of great concern to us. Linking us to the struggle of peoples in that region, there is a unity of



objectives and principles — national liberation, progress, socialism and peace — for which we fight together against imperialism and its reactionary, racist and dictatorial lackeys. We proclaim our total solidarity with the peoples of Guatemala, El Salvador, Chile and other Latin American countries and are convinced that the victory of their struggle is near.

The Yemeni people and our armed revolution defeated one of the strongest colonial armies in the world; our people achieved national independence with blood and sacrifice. In spite of the limitations we faced during the period of struggle against British colonialism, our people had strong principles of freedom and had confidence in achieving freedom and independence. Now they are also strong; they have fighting spirit and are ready to sacrifice their lives for their just objectives and desires. These are the bright realities that unite our experience of revolutionary struggle with that of revolutionary movements in Central and Latin America in the battle for freedom and social progress, with greater daily sacrifice, firmness of will and continuing heroic struggle against U.S. imperialism and its fascist and dictatorial lackeys. As revolutionary fighters, we have unlimited faith in the victory of the peoples and revolutionary movements of Central America. We are sure they will accomplish their just objectives of freedom and progress.

**Journalist:** What is your view of current relations between Cuba and Democratic Yemen? Would you like to send a message to the Cuban people?

**President:** I am not exaggerating when I say that our people have followed the development of the Cuban revolutionary process from the outset with pride and admiration: its resistance to imperialist and reactionary challenge and conspiracy and its socialist achievements, the internationalist principles of the Cuban Revolution and its profound alliance with the Arab and international national liberation movements. Of course, these are but some of the factors that have strengthened the position of Cuba and its fighting people, some aspects for which Arab and other peoples of the world respect and support the Cuban Revolution.

It is only natural that the relations between Democratic Yemen and Cuba should have steadily developed since the victory of our revolution, since we drove out the colonialists and established the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. The ties of friendship and cooperation between the two Parties and govern-

ments are a source of strength for our common struggle against imperialism and its lackeys. The internationalist image of the Cuban Revolution is strengthened daily, thanks to the wise and correct policy of the Communist Party of Cuba and its internationalist leader Fidel Castro, whom our people and the Arab peoples admire and respect.

The struggle of the Cuban people and their support for the development of the international movement is an important contribution to progress in the anti-imperialist struggle. This can clearly be seen in the active role of the Cuban Revolution in support of the Nicaraguan people and their progressive government against plots and maneuvers by imperialist forces and Somocista mercenaries, and of the struggle of the Central American peoples against dictatorial regimes. The influence of the Cuban Revolution has extended beyond Latin America and the Caribbean to other parts of the world where it supports the progressive governments of socialist Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique and the people of Namibia against the racist regime in Pretoria; where it gives full support to the Arab and African national liberation movements and the Palestinian people in their struggle to return home and establish an independent state, under the leadership of their only legitimate representative, the PLO.

Cuba holds an important position in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and plays a vital role on the international scene and the struggle for new international economic and information orders.

All these victories scored by the Cuban Revolution faithfully reflect the correct policy of the Communist Party of Cuba, the firm international positions of the Cuban people and their leader, the fighter Fidel Castro. The ties of genuine friendship between Democratic Yemen and Cuba are strong and profound. They are reflected in the hundreds of Yemeni students studying in Cuba and in other forms of cooperation between our Parties and in economic and cultural fields, and in the many Cuban advisers in our country aiding in our economic development and defense and strengthening the militant ties between the Yemeni and Cuban Revolutions, based on the principles of scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism.

(1) Corrective move: movement to correct the political course of the Revolution following the overthrow of the government of the right-wing Oah-stan Al-Shaaby faction of the National Front  
(2) March 1972



## ANALYST TELLS CONCERN OVER U.S. ARMING OF PAKISTAN

Madras THE HINDU in English 24 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 23.

According to Indian experts, Pakistan has nearly exhausted the Defence component of the \$3.2 billions (Rs. 3200 crores) aid package provided by the U.S. two years ago and is now pressing for more funds to pay for the highly sophisticated weaponry that is being supplied to enable the country to play an increasingly important role in the Indian Ocean region.

It has already drawn \$1.4 billions (Rs. 1,400 crores) out of the defence component of 1.6 billions (Rs. 1600 crores) of this military-economic aid package and another one billion dollars (Rs. 1,000 crores) will be required to pay for the advanced surveillance and missile systems that the U.S. has agreed to sell to bolster the country's offensive-defensive roles.

In the last 30 years since the U.S. signed a mutual security pact in 1951 with Pakistan, a total of roughly \$5 billions (Rs. 5,000 crores) worth of American arms have been supplied to it. In the first 14 years before the arms aid was suspended following the 1965 Indo-Pakistan conflict, Pakistan received an estimated military aid of \$3.5 billions (Rs. 3,500 crores). After the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan when the U.S. arms supply was resumed, it has received new weaponry valued at \$1.4 billions (Rs. 1,400 crores) while another one billion dollars (Rs. 1,000 crores) worth of equipment is presently under negotiation.

**Concessional terms:** An important feature of U.S. military aid is that not only is the money provided in the form of grants or credits to pay for it, but the equipment itself is often sold on highly concessional terms by treating it as surplus to U.S. requirements. The U.S. defence security assistance agency which handles these sales does not always disclose the details of such transaction, whether it is the categories and quantities of equipment supplied or the prices charged and the modes of payment.

When the U.S. decided to supply 40 F-16 aircraft to Pakistan, India was told that these high performance fighter-bombers will be equipped with only less advanced radar that

will enable them to be used primarily for interceptor roles. But after Pakistan refused to take delivery of these aircraft, the U.S. agreed to provide with more sophisticated radar for attack roles, more or less the same type of computerised navigational and fire control systems installed in the F-16s given to the Israeli air force.

The Government of India is more concerned about the changes in the U.S. policy objectives in arming Pakistan, as defined in the recent Defence Security Assistance Agency's communication to the Chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Though all the sensitive information contained in the communication has been deleted from the congressional record, the published version of the policy justification for stepping up the supply of military equipment to Pakistan refers pointedly to its "increasingly greater role as a stabilising force in the Indian Ocean region."

It also points out how "strategically important" Pakistan is in the "defence of sea lines of communication in the Arabian Sea and approaches to the Gulf." In other words, the U.S. policy justification for rearming Pakistan which was hitherto confined to the Afghanistan situation has now been enlarged to involve the defence of the Gulf and the strategic interests of the U.S. in the Indian Ocean.

The Government of India has been officially told by the U.S. of its decision to supply 40 Harpoon missiles to Pakistan, but it has not been informed of the concurrent move to provide the Vulcan phalanx anti-missile missiles. The two weapon systems are to be fitted to the six reconditioned destroyers that are being sold at throw away prices to Pakistan.

The Harpoon missile, which can be fired from a submarine, surface craft or an aircraft has a range of 95 kilometres which means it can pose a serious threat to the Bombay High and other off-shore oil installations, the Tarapur plant and the Atomic Research Establishment at Trombay, not to speak of Bombay city itself in the event of another Indo-Pak. conflict. It is

for this reason that India has been protesting repeatedly against the supply of these missiles to Pakistan.

Similarly, the U.S. has agreed to give Pakistan four Mohawk and another four Hawk Eye surveillance planes, each costing an estimated \$150 millions (Rs. 150 crores) fitted with the latest infra-red radar equipment. The Mohawks can monitor both armoured and infantry movements on the ground even at night, while the Hawk Eye surveillance and command control planes, which can be used either as land-based or carrier-based aircraft, can spot enemy plane movements upto a depth of 500 kilometres.

CSO: 4600/1174

## REDDY ON DELHI REACTION TO ASSASSINATION IN RANGOON

Madras THE HINDU in English 10 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 9.

The Government of India was shocked to hear of the bomb explosion in Rangoon in which four South Korean Cabinet Ministers and 11 others accompanying their President, Mr. Chun Doo Hwan, were killed leading to the cancellation of his State visit to India, Sri Lanka, Australia and New Zealand.

The South Korean President and his wife, along with an entourage of 140 members including several Ministers, senior officials and top businessmen, were due to arrive in Delhi from Rangoon on Tuesday morning on a four-day State visit.

The Government was all set to accord him a very warm welcome with all the customary ceremonial reflecting the close economic links that have been established between the two countries in recent years. The visit was also timed to provide an opportunity for wide-ranging discussions between senior Ministers, officials and businessmen on either side for stepping up Indo-Korean cooperation.

But India's sense of shock goes beyond the bilateral aspects of this growing relationship, since the bomb explosion in Rangoon which was evidently an attempt on the life of the South Korean President might further intensify the tensions between the two Koreas as also the big powers in the wake of the recent plane incident. As leader of the non-aligned movement, India is naturally concerned about any such development anywhere in the world which adds to the prevailing animosities among nations.

#### Architect of close economic ties

There is considerable distress in Delhi over the death of the South Korean Foreign Minister, Mr. Lee Bum Suk, one of the four Cabinet Ministers killed in this bomb explosion, since he has been the architect of the close economic relationship that has developed between the two countries. As Ambassador to India, he established personal contacts at the

highest level and had known almost everybody of consequence in the Government.

Mr. Lee met the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, in New York recently to acquaint them with the South Korean version of the plane incident and also seek their private advice on how this issue should be handled during the General Assembly session. It was at his suggestion that several other senior South Korean Ministers were included in Mr. Chun's delegation to enable them to have wide-ranging talks with their Indian counterparts during this ill-fated State visit.

The Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Suh Suk Joon, who was also killed in this bomb explosion, was the economic Czar of South Korea who had masterminded its spectacular industrial development. As Minister in overall charge of planning and development, he was entrusted with the responsibility of coordination and supervision to ensure fulfilment of the prescribed production targets and export performance.

The sharpening tensions between the two Koreas came in the wake of the turmoils in the Philippines following Benigno Aquino's assassination. These developments in East Asia do not augur well against the background of the continuing strains over Kampuchea between China and Vietnam.

It was not just an unhappy coincidence that none of the aligned or non-aligned countries from the whole of Asia responded to India's invitation to take part in the recent summit consultations at the United Nations. As a continent in turmoil of one kind or the other, it is going to engage India's attention increasingly in the coming years in the context of the new cold war tensions.

The South Korea tragedy has come as a painful pointer to the dangers ahead, if no timely steps are taken in time by Asian countries to avert the threat of another disastrous conflagration. It is this aspect of the bomb explosion in Rangoon today that has come as a disquieting portent to those in Asia who are tormented by fears of renewed conflicts.

## ALLEGATIONS OF FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT DISCUSSED

Madras THE HINDU in English 9 Oct 83 p 2

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] **O**NCE again there is a lot of talk in the corridors of power about alleged foreign involvement in India's internal developments. It is seen as part of a sinister design to destabilise the country through covert and overt interference to weaken India and nullify its growing international importance. The fact that the big powers have been unabashedly resorting to every form of political and economic pressure to divide and dominate the Third World is considered proof enough that they are out to strike at the heart of the non-aligned movement.

But the propagation of the theory of a hidden foreign hand behind every communal riot or regional agitation can be self-defeating by breeding a kind of paranoia that makes those in power oblivious to the real causes of the malaise that is being exploited by others to produce conditioned reflexes to suit their interests. The mere intensification of governmental vigilance against the flow of foreign funds, the exploitation of internal differences and the exertion of subversive influences is not enough, unless the political leadership is able to display the quiet confidence required for coping with such dangers without getting rattled and displaying undue nervousness that can only betray its lack of comprehension.

During the early 'Seventies when the heat was on the alleged CIA involvement, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, came out with the astonishing argument that it was not for the Government to produce conclusive evidence of such American interference, but for the U.S. itself to disprove to India's satisfaction that it was not engaged in any such subversive activity. This astounding assumption of guilt in the absence of any proof of innocence threw the floodgates open for wild charges being levelled by all and sundry against the U.S. and its surrogates, which in turn provoked their apologists to come out with equally damaging accusations against the Soviet Union and its ideological allies within the country.

The bewildered Indian public, caught up in the crossfire of this propaganda barrage from both sides, was left wondering whether the country's polity was, indeed, so corrupt and rotten to the core as was being made out by them.

It didn't do the country any good by casting serious aspersions on its own integrity and self-respect, let alone its political capacity and resilience of spirit to be able to deal firmly with such threats to its freedom. The all-too-frequent crying of the wolf also made the people extremely sceptical of this alibi, since in most cases it was the failure of the Government itself to anticipate the dangers and act in good time that was responsible for the avoidable consequences.

The hidden foreign hand, if any, sought to take advantage of the tragic events rather than instigate them, since these political or social turmoils had deep domestic origins in most cases. As a society in flux, racing both with and against time to catch up with lost opportunities, India had been going through all the agonising ordeals of rapid transition, rendering it highly vulnerable to both internal turbulence and external interference. The way the Indian politicians across the great dividing line went about shouting of foreign interference and accusing one another of subserving the interests of other powers gave the country not only a bad name, but also produced a credibility gap between their professions and actions.

The sad part of it is that the leadership, whether in power or in opposition, has not learnt the right lessons from this disconcerting habit of often trading unfounded accusations. The perverse glee with which many Congress (I) members reacted to the charges levelled against Mr. Morarji Desai — and the way the Foreign Minister sought to deny that the country's intelligence services had not found any substance in them — is one such example of petulance in public life.

A good many Indian observers, who have no sympathy for his politics or ways of life, have been shocked by the appalling inclination of those in authority to let the impression prevail that perhaps there was some truth in these allegations, forgetting that it would not do the country any good to make even the pathologically prejudiced ones believe that a former Prime Minister could be bought over by a foreign power for a few coins of gold in his moments of alienation.

### Double standards

But then did not the Janata do exactly the same thing by refusing to rebut the accusation of the former U.S. Ambassador, Mr. Patrick Moynihan, that Mrs. Gandhi had received American money as Congress President for fighting the communists in Kerala elections even after she denied that she was in any way involved in the alleged transaction? If the dubious stand of Mr. Desai's Government was inexcusable in this case, it is no less condonable in the present instance when Mrs. Gandhi's Government has done exactly the same thing to settle old scores, irrespective of the damage done to the country's reputation.

It is time that some degree of perspective was restored and the necessary restraint displayed by all concerned in conducting the controversy over the role of foreign money and interference in the country's internal affairs to destabilise the Indian political system.

It is a serious problem which any Government worth its salt has to tackle with both courage and determination to safeguard the country's freedom. There can be no two views on the need for stern measures to curb the flow of foreign money by plugging the existing loopholes. But the country cannot afford to adopt double standards by allowing Arab money in the guise of donations for religious or cultural purposes, turning a blind eye on the collection of vast sums from the Western-oriented Indian industrial enterprises by providing them with ample opportunities to expand their business and generate ample amounts of black money, or letting the trading houses doing roaring business with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to divert part of their profits to designated political parties or causes dear to them.

It is an open secret that both capitalist and communist money are readily available on a *quid pro quo* basis for many questionable purposes, despite the pretension that the evil has not been allowed to assume unmanageable dimensions. There is no essential difference between collecting swadeshi black money through Indian business houses and receiving large sums clandestinely from foreign sources, if this money is to be used for dubious purposes. The very process of extracting large donations from industrialists places those in authority under a severe obligation to them, while the acceptance of foreign money obliges the recipients to toe the prescribed political line, to the detriment of the larger national interest in both cases.

The Arab money flows in largely through bank remittances, other than some marginal amounts privately distributed in cash by the diplomatic missions concerned while almost all the Western or socialist funds are made available through Indian big business without any technical violation of the foreign exchange regulations. The investigations made by the intelligence agencies have pin-pointed the *modus operandi* adopted for channelling the flow of such illegal contributions, but the Government for reasons best known to itself has taken no step all these years to institute even a single prosecution. The result is that a high degree of permissiveness has been allowed to creep into

the country's political system, making a cleansing operation increasingly difficult with the passage of time.

An equally damaging feature of foreign interference is the virtual impunity with which other countries are allowed to carry on political propaganda in India not only against one another but also against domestic parties and lobbies towing different lines. The foreign diplomatic missions in India have ample opportunity to engage in a free for all propaganda warfare which often transcends from the ideological domain to the field of power politics to exert domestic political pressures against the policies of the Government. The proforma warnings of the External Affairs Ministry to desist from such violations of the Vienna Convention are often ignored and hardly complied with by the offending foreign missions.

The real threat to the nation's integrity is posed not so much by the flow of foreign money or its exposure to psychological warfare by the big powers as the involvement of their intelligence agencies in Indian politics is to influence India's attitudes. It is, no doubt, difficult for the Government to come across any hard evidence of foreign hand behind communal riots or regional agitations, but it has enough information of how other countries have been trying to exploit such situations. At one stage China was training the Naga and Mizo insurgents although it did not instigate their armed campaign. Similarly, Pakistan was involved in the insurgency in the North-East region before the emergence of Bangladesh, but thereafter it was concentrating on fomenting trouble in Kashmir, inciting the Sikh extremists and even encouraging communal troubles.

The U.S. and the Soviet involvement in India's internal affairs is of a different category which goes deeper since it is aimed at committing the country in their respective geopolitical power pursuits. Though India has been at odds with successive U.S. Administrations, by and large it has been a pro-American country in its basic attitude. The Indian leaders have missed no opportunity to wax eloquent on their shared faith in democracy and liberal traditions. The frictions between the two countries have been generated by their conflicting attitudes towards third countries like the Soviet Union, China or Pakistan. In the absence of common perceptions that can bind them together, the U.S. has tried to compel India to support its policies and actions by attempting to influence the ruling party from within and the opposition from outside to exert their combined pressures on the Government.

The Soviet task, on the other hand, has been relatively easy in extending its influence. Apart from the close economic and military supply relationship that has developed between the two countries, Moscow has been deriving some advantage for itself from every mistake made by Washington. But in doing so it over-stepped the mark during the Emergency by re-interpreting its treaty relationship to imply that it had the duty to back both the country and its Government. In the process it made anti-Sovietism an issue in India's internal politics and the final irony of it was that Moscow earned the wrath of Mrs. Gandhi as well by its

inability or reluctance to put pressure on the CPI to support her. The attempt to concentrate on a State-to-State relationship during the Janata regime to the point of ignoring her made Mrs. Gandhi suspicious of Moscow's ultimate objectives.

It is not possible for intelligence agencies with their police background to wade through the maze of all these complexities to analyse the aims, patterns and consequences of foreign influences in India by taking a rather simplistic view of the role of money power, ideological objectives or geopolitical pursuits of different powers operating in and around the sub-continent. This is a highly difficult subject that has to be tackled in all its manifestations by people with adequate political, economic and sociological backgrounds for taking a scholastic view of the problem, so that the country can have the benefit of their collective wisdom and experience.

CSO: 4600/1179

# ACTIVITIES OF VISITING SRI LANKA TAMIL LEADER

## Delhi Press Conference

Madras THE HINDU in English 13 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] NEW DELHI, Oct. 12--Mr. S. Thondaman, Sri Lanka Minister for Rural Industrial Development and President of the Ceylon Workers Congress, feels that India's good offices will help in the search for a lasting solution of the ethnic problem of his country.

"We realise", he told a press conference here today, "that India's offer of its good offices is out of a fund of goodwill for the entire people of Sri Lanka. It has been welcomed by the Government and the people of Sri Lanka, India's continued concern and mediatory efforts are the most important avenue open to the people of Sri Lanka to break the present deadlock and strive for a solution. Among the important considerations that make India's concern all the more imperative is the presence of a large number of Indian citizens and potential citizens."

Mr. Thondaman, who met the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, yesterday, quoted her as saying that further discussions would be necessary in regard to the various issues that had been raised. However, he could not say when Mrs. Gandhi's emissary, Mr. G. Parthasarathy, would visit Colombo next to resume his talks with the Sri Lanka Government.

India's experience: According to Mr. Thondaman, the "vast experience that India has had in resolving ethnic conflicts could be used", for solving the Sri Lankan problem. Asked whether he had in mind any Indian pattern that could meet the requirements of his country, he mentioned Kashmir but hastened to add in so many words that he was only thinking loudly.

The job of finding a pattern of ethnic cooperation acceptable to all was complex and the difficulties had been compounded by the recent trends and the July conflagration, he said.

What was the outlook for a political settlement? All that Mr. Thondaman would say was: "The Indian Government is involved (in the search for a solution). I, too, have had discussions with the President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene. I can use my position in offering assistance."



Faith in Jayewardene: He seemed to put great faith in Mr. Jayewardene. He said the previous Government had declined to have talks on the problems of Tamils while the present Government conducted negotiations though it failed in the follow-up processes. He agreed with a questioner that the Government had "accepted several matters but could not implement them" adding this was perhaps because the President was helpless.

Asked whether there was any pressure (by Tamils) on him to quit the Government, he said he was governed by the directives of his party which wanted him to stay in office. He was clear that he had been and continued to be more useful to Tamils while being in the Government. He claimed that several suggestions made by him to end the prevailing insecurity, had been accepted. Mr. Jayewardene, he said, had agreed to consider his proposal that a territorial regiment predominantly composed of youth from among the plantation workers be posted in areas inhabited by Tamil settlers of Indian origin.

Carefully laid plan: Mr. Thondaman conceded that he "was not active" in the initial stages of the July trouble, which, he thought, was not a sudden and spontaneous outburst of the Sinhalese against the Tamils but the culmination of a carefully-laid-out plan to destroy the houses and belongings of people of Indian origin.

He did not like to deal with queries on the role of some of his Cabinet colleagues at the time of the carnage. However, he quoted from a statement adopted by his party in August last, which said:

"The failure of the Minister of Lands and Land Development to give shape and content to a decision of the Cabinet to regularise the land holdings of stateless persons and other people of Indian origin in the North through a dialogue with the Minister of Rural Industrial Development and the President of the Ceylon Workers Congress has been a major contributory factor to this sad state of affairs which we are witnessing today.

"Instead of implementing the declared policy of regularising the settlements of people of Indian origin in these areas, where they were transported and dumped as refugees after the previous holocausts, a concerted attempt was made by officials to drive them out of their holdings under various false pretexts. This was further intensified around the middle of July when the police and security personnel set in motion a wave of terror intimidating the settlers and driving them away."

#### Asks Refuge for Workers

Madras THE HINDU in English 14 Oct 83 p 9

[Text]

MADRAS, Oct. 13.

Mr. S. Thondaman, president of the Ceylon Workers Congress, today renewed his call for plantation workers of Indian origin in Sri Lanka being temporarily accommodated in India. These hapless people felt "terribly insecure" in Sri Lanka at the moment and there

was nothing wrong in his plea to the Government of India to provide them shelter until security on the island improved, he said in an interview to THE HINDU immediately after his arrival here from Delhi.

Answering a question, Mr. Thondaman who is also the Minister for Rural Development



in the Jayewardene Government in Sri Lanka, said he did not see any point in either the TULF or other people opposing his suggestion. "If the fighters for Eelam could come to India to gather support for their struggle, why cannot plantation workers of Indian origin come here and seek the help of the Government of India for a solution to their problems, namely citizenship and better and more secure living conditions in Sri Lanka for all of them," he asked.

**Common grievances:** Replying to other questions, the Sri Lanka Minister said the Tamils — indigenous and migrant — had several common grievances like better treatment as citizens, better educational, housing and other facilities, use of Tamil etc., and to that extent they could make common cause in their endeavours to have these redressed. He however, made it clear that the Ceylon Workers Congress representing over a million people of Indian origin was not for a sovereign Tamil Eelam as in its view that would not help anybody. He recalled resolutions of the TULF where the CWC reservations on this issue had been incorporated.

Mr. Thondaman considered India's coming into the picture as a good and hopeful development in Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict. Peaceful conditions had to be restored so that the dialogue between the TULF and the Government could be restarted. It was in Sri Lanka's own interests to let India as a good neighbour to help bring the two parties together and resolve the problem.

**Jayewardene is best bet:** "I am an optimist and I am hopeful that all the problems facing the different sections of my country would definitely be solved," said Mr. Thondaman when asked about the future.

He was very clear in his mind that the President of Sri Lanka, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, and his United National Party had generally been more sympathetic to Tamils' and other Indian-origin people's aspirations than the opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party of Mrs. Bandaranaike. The UNP Government had had several discussions on the problems of the Tamils and plantation workers and a number of

promises had also been made though unfortunately they had not been followed up. The SLFP never agreed to any kind of talks on these problems. Mr. Jayewardene was their only hope, he said.

**Talks with MGR:** Mr. Thondaman later called on the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, at the Secretariat and had talks with him for about an hour. Mr. S. Sellasami, General Secretary of the CWC, was present.

Mr. Ramachandran told newsmen that they had a general discussion on the problems of the Tamils and people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka and Mr. Thondaman expressed his happiness that the Government of India, the Tamil Nadu Government and other leaders here were taking interest in finding an amicable settlement.

In the afternoon, Mr. M. Sivasithamparam, TULF President, and Mr. R. Sampanthan, MP from Trincomalee, met the Sri Lanka Minister at his hotel suite and were with him for about 45 minutes, reportedly discussing the differences between the TULF and the CWC in a bid to narrow them.

Mr. Thondaman met the DMK President, Mr. M. Karunanidhi at the latter's residence in Gopalapuram in the evening.

Later, Mr. Karunanidhi told newsmen that he had stressed the need for affording sufficient protection to the entire Tamil population on the island. The Central Government should take positive measures to protect the Tamils' interest there.

Mr. Karunanidhi said Mr. Thondaman wanted both the Central and Tamil Nadu Governments to fix a number of seats in all the professional colleges besides offering special scholarship for the students from the island.

Mr. Thondaman, who arrived here from Delhi on a three-day visit to the city, was received at the airport by Mr. P. Kolandaivelu and Mr. R. Soundararajan, Tamil Nadu Ministers, Mr. Newton Samarasinghe, Sri Lanka Deputy High Commissioner, and Dr. T. R. Janardanan, MLC, among others.

### Sri Lanka Attitude

Madras THE HINDU in English 18 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 17,

The attitude of the Sri Lanka Government towards the Tamil community has started hardening again, belying the earlier expectations of a reasonable response to the pleas for a lasting political solution to the island's ethnic problems, according to observers here.

The President and Secretary-General of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), Mr. M. Sivasithamparam and Mr. A. Amirthalingam, met the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, today to discuss the Sri Lanka situation in the light of the talk she had with the President of

the Ceylon Workers Congress, Mr. S. Thondaman, in Delhi last week.

The two TULF leaders complained to her about the "sinister move" of the Jayewardene Government to resettle Sinhalese in the Tamil majority areas of some of the Northern and Eastern districts to tilt the ethnic balance. They said this "operation colonisation" was being carried out on "war footing" under the direction of a Sinhalese naval commander to reduce the Tamils to a minority in the adjoining districts and isolate them in Jaffna where they are in an overwhelming majority at present.

## Two-level operation

This operation to reduce the Tamils to a minority in some of these districts was being carried out at two levels — by resettling the Sinhalese brought in from other places and moving out Tamil workers from the plantations under the guise of rehabilitating them in safer areas after the recent violence. The TULF leaders told Mrs. Gandhi that nearly 50,000 Sinhalese had been resettled in Batticaloa district alone.

The grave concern that the Prime Minister voiced at her press conference on Saturday over the dangerous situation developing in Sri Lanka reflected India's misgivings that, instead of utilising the present interlude to mollify the feelings of the Tamil minority, the Jayewardene Government was bent on intensifying the ethnic tensions by stepping up the pressures on the Tamil people.

## Delaying G.P. visit

It was also deliberately dragging its feet to delay the second visit of Mr. G. Parthasarathy and, if possible, frustrate the well-meaning Indian efforts to lend a helping hand in resolving this tragic tangle.

The two TULF leaders who had also met the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, told him that the situation in Sri Lanka was getting more and more tense because of the rigid stand being taken by the Jayewardene Government. They wanted India to tell the Sri Lanka President in no uncertain terms that his dilatory tactics to delay the talks would only complicate the situation further and render a solution all the more difficult.

The TULF leaders want Mr. Parthasarathy to pay a second visit to Colombo soon if only to keep up an atmosphere of conciliation. But there is nothing that the Government of India can do to step up the process if the Sri Lankan President and his advisers are in no mood to engage in any meaningful discussions.

## No certainty of meeting

As an excuse for delaying Mr. Parthasarathy's visit, the Sri Lanka Government has been talking of a meeting between Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Jayewardene during the Com-

monwealth conference in Delhi at the end of November to set the tone for further efforts to resolve the Tamil problem. But there is no certainty that Mr. Jayewardene would be coming to Delhi for this conference, since he cancelled his trip to New York after assuring Mrs. Gandhi that he would be participating in the summit consultations there.

If there is a fresh outbreak of violence in Sri Lanka against the Tamil minority, leading to a mass exodus of the panic-stricken and persecuted people fleeing to Tamil Nadu for safety it will place India in a very difficult position. In displaying exemplary restraint in the face of the recent holocaust in Sri Lanka, Mrs. Gandhi has been treating any talk of Indian intervention as an unthinkable alternative that was beyond the realm of even contemplation.

The TULF leaders fear that through their blind obduracy and stubborn refusal to countenance a reasonable solution, the hotheads in the Jayewardene Cabinet might create an explosive situation in which India might be compelled to act to prevent another round of genocide. But India continues to persevere in its efforts to bring about a settlement in the earnest hope that sooner or later the Sinhalese leaders will realise the folly of their intransigence and start reconciling themselves to the idea of a lasting political settlement.

## TULF to chalk out plan

The TULF high command will be meeting in Madras later this week to chalk out their plan of action to safeguard the interests of the Tamil community in Sri Lanka in the light of the talks Mr. Sivasithamparam and Mr. Amirthalingam have had in Delhi. The intention is to intensify the struggle if the Jayewardene Government is not prepared to engage in substantive negotiations in the near future.

A sad feature of the present crisis in Sri Lanka is that the Tamil community itself is not fully united in evolving an agreed negotiating position. The Indian efforts are directed as much at keeping the leaders of the Jaffna Tamils and Indian origin Tamils united in the face of their common adversity as nudging the Jayewardene Government to give up its rigid attitudes and come forward to negotiate a fair and equitable settlement.

## Tiruchi Press Conference

Madras THE HINDU in English 18 Oct 83 p 9

[Text]

TIRUCHI, Oct. 17.

"The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has taken our representation seriously and has hit the nail on the head", said Mr. S. Thondaman, president of the Ceylon Workers Congress and Sri Lanka Minister for Rural Industrial Development, here today.

"This augurs well for us (plantation workers in Sri Lanka and Tamils)", Mr. Thondaman told pressmen here commenting on Mrs. Gandhi's assertion that "India cannot, and

will not, take millions of Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka in the wake of the ethnic violence there."

Mr. Thondaman, who arrived here by air from Madras en route to his native village of Tirukoshtiyur in Ramnad district, "gratefully" acknowledged the support of the leaders and people of Tamil Nadu for the Sri Lanka Tamils in their hour of distress. At the same time, he appealed to Tamil Nadu leaders to create a conducive atmosphere for India's mediatory efforts.

**Tribute to Tamil Nadu CM:** Mr. Thondaman praised the "commendable" way the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, handled the situation and prevented it from escalating to explosive proportions when tension was mounting in the State following the violence in Sri Lanka in July. He said that the Tamils in Sri Lanka as the affected community did not want the situation to deteriorate beyond the "already regrettable level" it had reached.

Mr. Thondaman said it was for the Government of India to use its good offices with the Sri Lanka Government for negotiations for a lasting solution to the problem of the Tamils. He said the Sri Lanka President, Mr. Jayewardene, may not have implemented decisions on the language problem and the moves for district councils because he was not interested in implementing the decisions or circumstances compelled him not to implement them. If the latter was the reason the Government of India should create an atmosphere in which Mr. Jayewardene could be persuaded to implement the decision.

**Different problems:** Answering a question on whether Tamils of Indian origin and Tamils of Sri Lanka origin could unite and confront Mr. Jayewardene for a lasting solution of the problem, Mr. Thondaman said their problems were entirely different.

The Tamils of Indian origin had nothing to do with the demand of Eelam. In fact, Mr. Jayewardene had been responsive to his demands and had agreed to grant citizenship to plantation workers of Indian origin within the next six months.

Mr. Thondaman said that out of 9,75,000 Indians, India had agreed to grant citizenship to six lakhs and had given citizenship to five lakhs. The rest did not apply for Indian citizenship.

For the remaining 3,75,000 Sri Lanka had granted citizenship for 1,80,000. Mr. Jayewardene had agreed to grant citizenship for the remaining 1,95,000. He wanted India to honour the commitment by granting citizenship to the rest of the one lakh "who of course had not earlier applied for citizenship". "This is a big

change in Mr. Jayewardene's attitude", Mr. Thondaman said.

**Need for proper climate:** When India was taking initiative for mediation and when the Sri Lanka President was likely to meet Mrs. Gandhi in New Delhi shortly, "let the leaders and people of Tamil Nadu create a conducive atmosphere" for Indian efforts should make Mr. Jayewardene "yield" in the interests of the Sri Lanka Tamils of Indian origin and in the larger interests of living as brotherly neighbours.

The efforts of Tamil Nadu should not lead to a "hardening" of the Sri Lanka Government's attitude. Mr. Thondaman said he had made this point very clear in his talks with the DMK leader Mr. Karunanidhi and Mr. M. G. Ramachandran.

Mr. Thondaman, however, said that reading newspapers and hearing AIR news bulletins on Sri Lanka during his three days stay in Tamil Nadu made him fear that such stories would create panic and scare among the Sri Lanka Tamils.

Mr. Thondaman said the U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Caspar Weinberger's Sri Lanka visit had nothing to do with the ethnic violence there.

**"India should help":** Mr. Thondaman said minority problem was there in every country. The recent ethnic violence was "only a change in the pattern with organised violence" (in Sri Lanka), he said. India, "with its rich experience of tackling the minority problem" should help the Sri Lanka Government to solve this problem, Mr. Thondaman said.

The Prime Minister's assertion that India would not take refugees from Sri Lanka would "mean a writing on the wall for Mr. Jayewardene" to "restore the conditions that prevailed before". This was exactly the demand of the Ceylon Workers Congress when they threatened to quit Sri Lanka lock stock and barrel for they had no security there, he said. "We are happy that Mrs. Gandhi had reacted in the best possible way", Mr. Thondaman said.

#### Amirthalingam, Thondaman Talks

Madras THE HINDU in English 20 Oct 83 p 9

[Text]

MADRAS, Oct. 19.-

Mr. A. Amirthalingam, TULF Secretary General, today held discussions with Mr. S. Thondaman, Sri Lanka Minister for Rural Industries, at Thirukoshtiyur in Ramanathapuram district, on the stepped up encroachment into traditional Tamil homeland areas on the island contrary to the president, Mr. Jayewardene's assurance that the demographic character of these areas would not be altered by any scheme of colonisation. Mr. Amirthalingam returned to Madras this evening.

Mr. Amirthalingam who is also president of the Ceylon Workers Congress, told the Minister that Batticaloa Tamils had been driven out and as many as 40,000 Sinhalese brought into the electorate of Kalkule. Tamils of Indian origin who had been settled in Vavuniya and surrounding areas with the blessings of the Government after the 1977 ethnic riots were also being systematically driven out to accommodate Sinhalese colonists.

Armed forces had started operations on a big scale in these areas. The Tamils of Indian origin who were being driven out were members of the Ceylon Workers' Congress. Mr. T. Sivasithambaram, Vavuniya MP, was also with Mr. Amirthalingam during the Thirukoshtiyur discussions.

Mr. Amirthalingam thought these moves were calculated to build up tension and avoid a negotiated settlement of the long standing problems of the Tamils.

In view of the fact that the TULF members would soon lose their seats in Parliament, it was necessary that the three Tamil Ministers and the one Tamil District Minister, who alone would be left in the House to represent Tamil interests, should take urgent notice of the situation and take suitable steps to deal with it in Parliamentings.

Mr. Amirthalingam, told THE HINDU that he discussed with Mr. Thondaman another matter, namely, the attempt being made by the Jayewardene Government to bring the four Tamil districts of Trincomalee, Babuniya, Mullaitheevu and Mannar, under a unified Naval command.

Mr. Amirthalingam expressed to the Minister his fears that this could have adverse consequences for the security and peaceful living of the Tamils in these districts. Mr. Amirthalingam said the Sri Lanka Minister appreciated the position as explained by him.

**TULF politburo meets:** The TULF politburo discussed on Wednesday evening a plan of action by the party to safeguard the interests of the Tamils on the island.

Mr. Amirthalingam told newsmen the discussion would resume on Thursday when it would decide on the course to be adopted by the party for the by-election to be notified for the seats falling vacant from October 20 in view of the decision taken by the Sri Lanka Government against the TULF MPs.

The TULF leader said both he and Mr. Thondaman agreed that they should work with some kind of an understanding for the entire Tamil population in Sri Lanka. He was fully satisfied with the talks he had with Mr. Thondaman, though there might be differences in the approach to meet the problems of the Tamils working in the plantations and those of Indian origin. This point, he had made clear at the meeting also, he added.

When a reporter drew his attention to seizure of more letters alleged to have been written by his son, Mr. Amirthalingam said he would like to give his comments after the publication of all the alleged letters by the Sri Lanka Government. He however, maintained that these were done in a clandestine way to vitiate a negotiated settlement on the problems of the Tamils in the island.

CSO: 4600/1178

## PRESS REPORTS ON PRESIDENT'S RULE IN PUNJAB

## Text of Ordinance

Madras THE HINDU in English 8 Oct 83 p 7

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 7.

The following is the text of the Punjab Disturbed Areas Ordinance, 1983, promulgated by the President:

"Promulgated by the President in the 34th year of the Republic of India.

An Ordinance to make better provision for the suppression of disorder and for the restoration and maintenance of public order in disturbed areas in Punjab.

Whereas by a proclamation issued on the 6th day of October, 1983 by the President under Article 356 of the Constitution the powers of the legislature of the State of Punjab have been declared to be exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament.

And whereas Parliament is not in session and the President is satisfied that circumstances exist which render it necessary for him to take immediate action.

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by Clause (1) of Article 123 of the Constitution and of all other powers enabling him in that behalf, the President is pleased to promulgate the following Ordinance:

1. This Ordinance may be called the Punjab Disturbed Areas Ordinance, 1983. It extends to the whole of the State of Punjab. It shall come into force at once.

2. In this Ordinance, "disturbed area" means an area which is for the time being declared by notification under Section 3 to be a disturbed area.

3. The State Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, declare that the whole or any part of any district of Punjab as

may be specified in the notification is a disturbed area.

4. Any magistrate or police officer not below the rank of sub-inspector or havildar in case of the armed branch of the police may, if he is of opinion that it is necessary so to do for the maintenance of public order, after giving such due warning, as he may consider necessary, fire upon, or otherwise use force, even to the causing of death, against any person who is acting in contravention of any law or order for the time being in force in the disturbed area, prohibiting the assembly of five or more persons or the carrying of weapons or of things capable of being used as weapons or of firearms, ammunition or explosive substances.

5. Any magistrate or police officer not below the rank of sub-inspector, may, if he is of opinion that it is necessary so to do, destroy any arms dump, prepared or fortified position or shelter from which armed attacks are made or are likely to be made or are attempted to be made or any structure used as training camp for armed volunteers or utilised as a hideout by armed gangs or absconders wanted for any offence.

6. No suit, prosecution or other legal proceedings shall be instituted except with the previous sanction of the State Government against any person in respect of anything done or purporting to be done in exercise of the powers conferred by Sections 4 and 5.

An identical Ordinance was issued in respect of the Union Territory of Chandigarh.

## G. K. Reddy Comments

Madras THE HINDU in English 8 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 7.

After imposing President's rule in Punjab last night, the Centre issued simultaneously two

identical ordinances empowering the Punjab Government and the Chandigarh administration to notify any area within their jurisdiction as a

"disturbed area" where the police will be invested with sweeping powers to stamp out extremist violence.

The ordinances, which empower the police and magistrates to open fire and kill any lawbreaker, prohibit the carrying of firearms, arrest persons without warrant, raid any building suspected of harbouring extremists and demolish structures used for training terrorists, also confer full immunity on those discharging these duties in the sense that no legal proceedings can be instituted against them without the prior sanction of the Government.

This is the farthest the Centre has gone in cracking down in a big way to crush the violent activities of the Sikh terrorists, short of declaring a state of emergency or imposing martial law, since the official agencies entrusted with the enforcement of law and order will have the sort of extraordinary powers that they have had in the disturbed areas of the North-East region. The Political Affairs Committee of the Union Cabinet which met late last night decided to take these extreme measures to make the full psychological impact felt of the Centre's determination to put down the violence at any cost.

But a high official of the Home Ministry explained that the ordinances did not automatically declare the whole of Punjab and the Union territory of Chandigarh, where the State capital is located, as "disturbed areas" as would be the case if an emergency had been imposed. It had been left to the discretion of the Punjab Government and the Chandigarh administration to decide which areas under their jurisdiction should be so declared.

Later tonight the Punjab Government and the Chandigarh administration issued a notification declaring the whole State and the Union territory as disturbed areas to give the police and the magistracy additional powers for dealing with extremism. The police have launched a Statewide drive to take possession of unlicensed arms and also intensify border patrolling to prevent smuggling of weapons from Pakistan.

Though Punjab has been virtually under Central rule for the last 18 months with the State administration functioning under the direct supervision of the Home Ministry from Delhi, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, was resisting the demand for a formal imposition of President's rule since she did not want

to yield to the Akali demand for the dismissal of the Congress (I) Ministry headed by Mr. Darbara Singh, a loyal party colleague with an unblemished record of personal integrity in public life.

But she reluctantly yielded to the pressures last night when Mr. Darbara Singh himself offered to step down to make way for Central rule to deal sternly with the extremist violence which was assuming communal overtones. It was only after consulting him that she took the final decision.

The first day of President's rule in Punjab went off quite peacefully, according to official reports reaching Delhi. A reassuring feature of the Statewide bandh called by the BJP and other Hindu organisations was that many Sikh traders also participated in it. This helped to mollify the widespread anger over the cold-blooded murder of eight innocent Hindus yesterday by the Sikh extremists.

The Centre expects the anti-terrorist drive to be a long-drawnout operation taking weeks, if not months, to gain a firm control over the law and order situation in the State. But all possible care is being taken to ensure that in attempting to track down the Sikh extremists the police do not indulge in excesses which would only add to the prevailing bitterness and tension.

### Meaningful dialogue

If the Centre succeeds in crushing this terrorism without exacerbating the Sikh feelings, it will have opened the way for the resumption of a meaningful dialogue with the moderates in the Akali movement who are opposed to the extremist demand for Khalistan. It will also help the Congress (I) to restore the confidence of the Hindus in Punjab and Haryana who feel threatened by Sikh extremism.

The current wave of terrorism in Punjab, according to Central Government sources in Delhi, is being spearheaded by Dal Khalsa desperadoes and some naxalite elements who have infiltrated into the Sikh student movement. In the last few weeks as many as 64 persons have been killed, including 14 police officers who have been on their hit list. It is only the latest bus incident in which six Hindu passengers were singled out and gunned down that highlighted the communal character of this senseless violence, although the pattern has been quite evident even from the earlier incidents.

### Security Stakes High

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 8 Oct 83 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

It is easy to welcome the Union government's decision to impose President's rule in Punjab. Several arguments can readily be cited in its support. The state cabinet, headed by Mr. Darbara Singh, was as badly split as the Cong-



ress(I) legislature party; neither had shown the slightest inclination to close ranks in the face of the continuing Akali challenge; these divisions had enfeebled the state government to a point where it was not able to take steps to curb the Akali extremists and maintain law and order; there has been an alarming upsurge in violence in the past fortnight; and reports have circulated to the effect that Mr. Darbara Singh was not allowing the leadership of the police force the necessary freedom to transfer officers who had been found wanting in competence, enthusiasm and impartiality. Indeed, it can legitimately be said that the Centre had not been left with any other option in view of the state government's failure, for whatever reasons, to rise to the occasion. But the decision raises certain issues which should not be shirked.

The Akalis, it is only too well known, have been extremely keen to see Mr. Darbara Singh out of the office of chief minister. At one stage, Sant Longowal went to the extent of saying publicly that the prospect of a settlement between the Union government and the Dal would improve if Mr. Singh was to be removed. The chief minister was a thorn in the side of the Akalis precisely because he is a genuine nationalist and commands a following among the Sikhs. Apparently, their calculation was that no other Sikh leader in the Congress(I) would have either the stature or the stamina or even the will to confront them and that his removal would help them polarise politics in the state completely along communal lines. It would be idle to deny that they have already succeeded in this nefarious design. The implication is obvious. The enforcement of President's rule in the state must be followed by steps which can effectively frustrate the extremist Akali plans.

It does not necessarily follow that a Sikh of ability and good standing in the community should be appointed governor of Punjab. But, surely, such a move would make it difficult for the Akalis to communalise political life in the state still further. There is another reason why it may be desirable for the Union government to consider this proposition. The present governor may not be able to measure up to the task of presiding over a thorough overhaul of the state administration, which has become absolutely necessary if the extremists are to be put out of harm's way. Mr. A. P. Sharma would not have been removed from the Union cabinet if Mrs. Gandhi had been satisfied with his performance. On the eve of his exit, he had a heart attack. His choice as governor of Punjab was not particularly wise even then. He could easily have been accommodated in a less troubled state. In the new circumstances, his continuance in what has now become an office of critical importance may be an unnecessary handicap. The governor will doubtless be assisted by advisers who can make up for his weaknesses. The Union government's two choices are commendable. Mr. Harbans Singh and Mr. Jagatpati are good and experienced administrators. Even so, it would be wrong to minimise the importance of the occupant of Raj Bhavan in Chandigarh.

The stake in Punjab is extremely high — the country's security. The Centre should spare no effort and shirk no decision, however unpleasant, if it is to restore respect for authority. Obviously, the Akali murder squads are well-

organised, well-trained, well-armed and well-financed. The police, on the other hand, have been either inefficient or unenthusiastic or even sympathetic towards them. This must change. Apparently, the intelligence agencies too have not performed well in Punjab. They must be reorganised. The Akali agitation and the activities of the murder squads apart, Punjab has become a smugglers' paradise. This poses a grave threat to the country's economy. It could have been treated as a long-term problem if there was no reason to apprehend that there might be a connection between smuggling and the attempt to foment a Hindu-Sikh conflict. But there is reason to entertain such and indeed worse fears. These links can be exposed and destroyed only with the help of an efficient intelligence set-up. Finally, the Akali leaders should be left in no doubt that the government means business.

CSO: 4600/1147



## PAPER REPORTS 'SWOOP' ON 'ANTINATIONALS' IN KASHMIR

Madras THE HINDU in English 30 Oct 83 p 1

[Text]

SRINAGAR, Oct. 19.

The Jammu and Kashmir law and order machinery has now swung into action against anti-national and pro-Pakistani extremist elements. These elements of late had indulged in a fresh wave of sabotage and subversive activities in different parts of the Kashmir Valley.

The State Government has constituted a high level investigation machinery comprising senior police and intelligence officials. The Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah who also holds the Home portfolio has ordered a thorough investigation of all the half a dozen incidents since August 14. On that day some people hoisted Pakistani flags to observe Pakistani Independence day in certain parts of the valley and thereafter indulged in acts of sabotage including the planting of bombs to scuttle Independence Day celebration on August 15. These elements were responsible for organising anti-Indian demonstrations in the cricket stadium here on October 13 when the one-day international match was played between India and the West Indies.

A State Government spokesman said that in swoops in different parts of the Kashmir Valley during the past 36 hours about 100 people had been arrested. They belong to the Jamat-e-Tulba, a militant organisation of

Kashmir, Jamat-e-Islami, the pro-Pakistan Peoples League and Mahaz-e-Azadi. They claim to have organised the anti-India demonstrations in Sher-i-Kashmir Cricket Stadium on October 13.

The spokesman said the involvement of some foreign countries, particularly Pakistan, could not be ruled out. The violent activities according to him synchronised with the Pakistani officials' "determination to get the Kashmir issue settled."

Dr. Farooq Abdullah said his Government was determined to take stern action against the "handful of disruptive elements who are trying to disturb peace and tranquillity". He told this correspondent that some spectators who did not represent the opinion of its 70 lakh people of the State "brought disrepute to the entire State and its people".

The State Government is seriously thinking of imposing a ban on the activities of all these pro-Pakistani organisations under the recently amended State Criminal Procedure Act which empowers it to curb anti-national and communal activities.

The Jammu bandh today in protest against the misbehaviour of "anti-national" elements during the cricket match at Srinagar was marred by a lathi-charge and bursting of teargas shells at the city chowk.

CSO: 4600/1169

## CENTER CONCERNED OVER VIOLENCE IN KASHMIR

Madras THE HINDU in English 19 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 18.

The Centre is taking drastic steps to stamp out terrorism in Punjab and get the general law and order situation in the country firmly under control before the Commonwealth conference in Delhi at the end of next month, when nearly 40 Heads of Government are expected here.

As part of the security arrangements for the conference, special anti-terrorist squads are being set up to deal with any contingency on the lines of the BSF commando units trained to fight armed hijackers and other violent groups on the rampage.

**Fool-proof security measures**

There is hardly a month left for the ten-day visit of Queen Elizabeth who arrives on November 17, a week before the commencement of the Commonwealth conference. No effort is being spared to make fool-proof security arrangements for the two events to the extent humanly possible.

But what the Government is concerned is not about any possible threat to the safety of the visiting Commonwealth dignitaries who will be well protected as was done in the case of the 90 odd Heads who attended the non-aligned summit conference. It is naturally worried about the damage that might be done to India's reputation by acts of vandalism in other parts of the country, while Delhi itself will remain sealed off during the Commonwealth conference.

The situation in Kashmir, for example, is considered potentially much more serious than the current crisis in Punjab or the simmering unrest in Assam, because the disruptive activities of the secessionist elements in the valley are already being exploited by Pakistan to divert the attention of its people from the deepening discontent against the military regime, which is faced with a serious agitation for the restoration of democratic rule. It calls for the utmost vigilance on India's part to ensure that there would be no repetition of the 1965 events that led to an all-out Indo Pak. conflict.

But within Punjab itself the Government

has come across enough evidence of Pakistani encouragement, if not direct involvement, to the Akali extremists who have been indulging in senseless acts of violence. The Government claims to have conclusive proof of the existence of some secret camps across the border in Pakistan where these terrorists are trained in the use of modern weapons and explosive devices.

The Pakistan Government has not only been refuting these accusations but also making counter-allegations that all this talk of Pakistani complicity in the present wave of terrorism in Punjab is only a smoke-screen to cover up India's own involvement in the current anti-Zia agitation in Pakistan. The President of Pakistan, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, has gone to the extent of insinuating that India has also been training the Al Zulfikar terrorists led by Bhutto's sons.

The Government of India has, no doubt, been treating these baseless accusations with utter contempt, but it cannot afford to ignore the dangers of Pakistan utilising these wild charges as an excuse for stepping up its own subversive activities in Kashmir even at the risk of another conflict. It is in this context that the Home Minister, Mr. P. C. Sethi, pointed out in his letter to the Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, that the deplorable incidents in Srinagar during the cricket match between India and the West Indies were quite evidently aimed at encouraging, inciting and spreading secessionist and anti-Indian feelings there.

The Government of India has not accused Dr. Abdullah of aiding or abetting this anti-Indian campaign, but has deplored his inability or reluctance to curb the activities of these subversive and secessionist elements. The Centre has been displaying the utmost restraint because it did not want to give a handle to the pro-Pakistani groups in Kashmir to spread the canard that it was looking for an excuse to bring the State under Governor's Rule.

It is the sequence of violent incidents in Kashmir, not so much the cumulative political

impact of them, that has been worrying the Centre. The coincidence of this anti-Indian campaign in the valley with the mounting tempo of terrorism in Punjab in the wake of the Akali agitation has been posing some serious defence problems in this sensitive border area where 10 or 12 Pakistani divisions are deployed at present.

### **Deplorable incidents**

The pro-Pakistan groups in the Kashmir Valley felt emboldened, following the rift between the Congress (I) and the National Conference, to fly the Pakistani flag in some places on August 14 to mark its Independence Day. What was worse a bomb was thrown the next day during the police parade to celebrate Indian Independence. These two deplorable incidents have been followed in the last three months by several more acts of violence, culminating in the brazen anti-Indian demonstrations during the cricket match in Srinagar last week.

The continued violence in Punjab, the renewed tensions in Kashmir and the restive atmosphere in Assam represent a pattern of ferment which, viewed against the background of India's not too good relationship with Nepal, the lingering animosities in Bangladesh and now the latest strains with Sri Lanka, has been causing concern in Delhi. The latest violent incidents are seen as only a symptom of a deeper malaise that has to be tackled both at the political and administrative levels with firm determination.

But the external aspects of these threats cannot be dealt with until the internal challenges are met by putting down violence. The proximity of the Queen's visit and the Commonwealth conference has only given an additional sense of urgency to what is even otherwise a high priority task for the Government.

CSO: 4600/1166

## G. K. REDDY: INDO-PAKISTAN TALKS RESUMPTION UNLIKELY

Madras THE HINDU in English 20 Oct 83 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 19.

The Indo-Pakistan contacts, in the form of exchange of visits by important personalities and continuance of talks on various issues, are grinding to a halt in the wake of the latest accusations of interference in each other's internal affairs that have soured the relations.

There is little likelihood of an early resumption of the stalled dialogue on the two inter-linked proposals for a more comprehensive treaty of friendship and a limited accord on non-aggression.

Though the Foreign Secretaries of the two countries had agreed in principle in June last to meet before long to carry forward these discussions, neither country is now really interested in an early meeting because of the new strains that have developed in Indo-Pakistan relations. It is, therefore, highly unlikely that these talks will be resumed in the present situation, despite the fact that the door has not been formally shut by either side, precluding further discussions on the subject.

Meanwhile, the Education Minister, Mrs. Sheila Kaul, who was due to pay a return visit to Islamabad at the invitation of the Pakistan Minister for Health and Social Welfare, Dr. Bhasharat Jasbi, has put off her trip. The official explanation for this is that the two Governments have not been able to work out mutually convenient dates for an early visit.

The Government of India is also quite sore that Pakistan has not kept its word to put on trial the Akali extremists who had hijacked an IAC aircraft to Lahore on Sept. 30, 1981, despite the assurance given by its Foreign

Minister, Mr. Yaqub Ali Khan, during the visit of the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, to Islamabad in June last for the first ministerial meeting of the joint commission.

**Pak. complicity:** At the time of the hijacking incident, Pakistan had promised to hand over the culprits to India as a token of its desire for better bilateral relations. But later on the Zia regime changed its mind saying that there would be legal complications against repatriation. Though more than two years have elapsed, the hijackers have not yet been brought to trial and, as undertrial prisoners, they continue to enjoy a lot of privileges including contact with other extremists involved in the latest violent incidents.

The Government of India is taking a serious view of the alleged Pakistani complicity in the present wave of violence in Punjab which, in its view, calls for stringent counter-measures to plug the loopholes in the security system. It is also stepping up the vigilance along the Kashmir borders to prevent infiltration of saboteurs and other agent provocateurs bent on stirring up trouble.

One of the consequences of these new strains in Indo-Pakistan relations is that those Commonwealth countries which at one time were very keen on persuading India to give up its objections to the readmission of Pakistan have dropped the idea for the present. It is not expected to be mooted even during private conversations among the top Commonwealth leaders, since India is bound to hit back by disclosing details of its involvement in these subversive activities aimed at undermining the integrity of the country and unity of its people.

CSO: 4600/1178

## OFFICIAL TELLS SUCCESS OF INDIAN RADAR INDUSTRY

Madras THE HINDU in English 10 Oct 83 p 9

[Text] BANGALORE, Oct. 9--With over a decade of effort in building up indigenous capability in the design and production of radars, India could move to the coming years with considerable confidence, Prof. M. G. K. Menon, member of the Planning Commission said here today.

The former Chairman of the Electronics Commission was inaugurating the International Radar Symposium India-'83, the first ever to be held in India.

Prof. Menon said with pride that the holding of the conference in India showed that the "radar community" spread over research, production and academic institutions, had come of age in India. Hitherto such conferences had been held only in the western countries.

Over 340 scientists and technologists from India and abroad, some of whom are leaders in their respective fields are attending the four-day symposium.

Tracing the history of research and production of radar in the country, Mr. Menon said India started production under licence in the Sixties. The Bharat Electronics Limited and the Hindustan Aeronautics, Hyderabad, took up licensed production and a succession of items came to be produced for use by the armed forces. Merchant Navy and others. The country was introduced to the manufacture and technology of radars. The setting up of the Electronics Commission and the National Radar Council in the early Seventies gave the impetus to indigenous design, research and production of radars. The Council brought together the designer, manufacturer and the user.

Prof. Menon noted that licensed production of radars had its disadvantages. As the technology had been obtained from different countries, it involved diverse production and testing procedures. These were serious deficiencies.

India had taken up the production of several types of radar purely on the basis of its indigenous capability. He mentioned the research and development efforts of the Electronics and Radar Development Establishment (LRDE) here, Defence Electronics Research Laboratory, Hyderabad, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, and the Indian Institutes of Technology and the production efforts of Bharat Electronics. The weakness related to new technology and new

developments and the country had to cut down the time factor in reaching them. So far, the production of the radar gadgetry was almost wholly for internal requirements and there was not much of export.

India was moving to the phase two of radar development. Its requirements of radars were large because of security considerations and for achieving its aim of self-reliance. It had to build up its own capability.

It was appropriate that the symposium was being held in Bangalore as it was the headquarters of BEL, Space Department and the Indian Space Research Organisation.

The Chairman and Managing Director, Bharat Electronics, Mr. N. L. Krishnan said the holding of the symposium was of significance for the majority of the country's radar scientists and technologists as only a few of them had any interaction with scientists and technologists from abroad. The symposium would break the isolation of our scientists by providing them with a forum to expose their work to the international community.

CSO: 4600/1153

## 'RESTIVENESS' AMONG BENGAL, BIHAR TRIBES REPORTED

Madras THE HINDU in English 13 Oct 83 p 7

[Text]

CALCUTTA, Oct. 12.

There are signs of fresh restiveness among the tribals of Bihar and West Bengal.

Early next week, the Krantikari Chhatra Yuba Morcha, an organisation of tribal students and youth, will organise a conference at Chaibasa, Singhbhum, in Bihar where issues like the culture of Jharkhand, local problems and rural economy would be discussed.

Tribals of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh have been demanding a separate Jharkhand State to preserve the "tribal identity and ways of life".

A spokesman of the KCYM, who visited the city, said that owing to the hold-up of the construction of the Subarnarekha dam in south Bihar, equipment costing about Rs. 22 crores from the USSR had been ruined. (The building of the dam, first thought of in 1969, has been resisted by the tribals).

If the dam was built, the parliamentary constituency of Chandil would be wiped out. Thousands of tribal families inhabiting 100 villages would be uprooted, the spokesman said.

He said that instead of giving jobs to the families that would be affected by the dam, the Bihar Government recently brought in some 700 construction workers from north Bihar. Some months ago two tribals were killed in police firing during a demonstration against the authorities.

The police also shot dead hungry demonstrators who demanded food earlier this year. The past few years had been very difficult for the tribals because rain was either scanty or irregular.

Turning to the situation in West Bengal where the Morcha had links with pro-Jharkhand agitators, the spokesman said the Left Front's claim that because of rural development villagers' migration to the cities in search of food and work had stopped was not true.

There were over 1,000 tribals engaged in the construction of the underground railway in Calcutta. And administrative decisions taken by the project authorities from time to time made their jobs uncertain.

Mr. Sambhu Mandi, the West Bengal Minister for Tribal Welfare, did not visit his constituency after he was chased and threatened by a group of tribals over a disagreement some time ago.

The State Government's ban on foreign missionaries — in the name of preventing the flow of foreign money into the country — deprived the tribals of the chance to get better educated and learn methods of self-employment.

There was hardly any development in the tribal-inhabited villages of Purulia, Bankura and Midnapore districts.

CSO: 4600/1159

IRAN

#### JAPANESE AMBASSADOR CONFERS WITH OFFICIALS

GF061542 Tehran IRNA in English 1523 GMT 6 Nov 83

[Text] Tehran, 6 Nov (IRNA)--Japanese Ambassador Yutaka Nomura called on Deputy Prime Minister and Head of Environment Protection Organisation Mirza Taheri Sunday morning. The two discussed issues of bilateral cooperation in the field of environment protection.

In his recent visit to Japan Mirza Taheri discussed the same subject with other Japanese officials.

On Saturday the Japanese ambassador met with Minister of Ershad Eslami Hoj, Seyyed Mohammad Khatami and discussed matters of mutual interest particularly in cultural field.[sentence as printed]

During the meeting the Japanese ambassador referring to the economic cooperation of Iran and Japan and recent visit of Iranian foreign minister to Japan said his country was ready for further cooperation in various fields.

Nomura said that steps should be taken to further the relations between the two countries in cultural field.

In reply the minister said that Iran and Japan had been the victims of the superpowers in the past, adding that the two countries today may be a model of independence.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Khatami said that the Islamic Republic of Iran was interested in establishing good relations with all nations on the basis of neither East nor West policy.

The minister gave a brief account on the reason of the Iraqi attack on the Iranian cities which resulted in martyrdom of innocent men, women and even the students in the schools.

But, he said, the Iranian nation is determined to win the Iraqi imposed war.

CSO: 4600/107



IRAN

CENTRAL BANK GOVERNOR REPORTS ON ECONOMIC SITUATION

GF091756 Tehran IRNA in English 1612 GMT 9 Nov 83

[Text] Tehran, 9 Nov (IRNA)--Despite problems created by the Iraqi imposed war, the surplus balance of payments of the Islamic Republic of Iran for the past Iranian year (ended last March) was about 6 billion dollars, said governor of the Central Bank of Iran (CBI) Mohsen Nurbakhsh, in a press conference with foreign journalists here Tuesday. This is a sure indication of positive trend of the country's economy.

He added that the volume of people's deposits with the banks during last year showed an average increase of 28 percent.

Referring to the volume of foreign exchange reserves under the previous regime, Nurbakhsh said that by March 1979, it was about 18 billion dollars.

On the improvement in industrial situation of the country, he said, during the last Iranian year it enjoyed a 14.8 percent growth rate.

In reply to a question concerning increase in volume of money in circulation, he said that the existing laws did not permit such a measure. He added it was 1,800 billion rials (dls 21 bn).

As for the rate of inflation he said that there were no records of any country which was in a state of war and did not suffer from inflation. At present, he continued, on the basis of the estimates, the rate of inflation was about 20 percent which was a modest figure taking into account the Iraqi imposed war.

Drawing a comparison between the foreign exchange reserves of Iran and Iraq, he said that according to the figures released by International Monetary Fund (IMF) at the start of the war Iraq had a reserve of 30 billion dollars. At the same time aids of sheykdoms to Iraq continue, amounting to 18-20 billion dollars. On top of these, at the start of the war, it had a surplus revenue equivalent of 60 percent of its annual budget.

On the [words indistinct] he said, was facing severe economic problems and was encountering pressure exerted by imperialist countries, that is to say a large portion of Iran's exchange reserves were blocked by the U.S. administration and the country faclems is selling its oil. In addition, at the outbreak of the war, he pointed out, the country faced with a budget deficit.

At present, the Iraqi foreign exchange reserves has dropped as low as 2.300 billion dollars. [as printed] At the same time, Nurbakhsh continued, Iraq's debts were estimated to be more than 60 billion dollars and for the past two years its annual budget deficit has been about 60 percent of its revenues.

However, Iran's foreign debts which stood at 15 billion dollars before the February 1979 Islamic revolution, has dropped to 500 million dollars, he told reporters.

In reply to a question on activities of foreign banks in Iran, he said that they had no banking activities in Iran, saving for actions in opening of credits and would have their branches at agency level.

On difference between the Islamic system and those implemented in other Islamic countries, he explained that in those countries a dual banking system was followed, that is, along with an Islamic banking framework, the principle of interest still persisted. Whereas in Iran a uniform Islamic and interest-free system will be adhered to, he said.

As for the new interest-free banking system, he said this system which would have two kinds of deposits, interest free and investment, would probably be implemented within the next three or four months. In the first case deposits of people would be extended, in loans, to those who are in need of money. However, in the latter group, the deposits would be invested in different [words indistinct] have made such deposits.

CSO: 4600/108

IRAN

NVOI ASSAILS IRAN'S RULERS FOR PROLONGING GULF WAR

TA100546 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 9 Nov 83

[Unattributed commentary: "Why Do They Persist in Prolonging the War?"]

[Text] Dear compatriots: Rulers of the Islamic Republic of Iran who take pleasure from the people's slaughter as well as bloodshed, are persisting in their obstinacy to continue the imposed war without considering the fatal consequences of the war. This imposed war, which has inflicted so many great human and material losses and damage, is only to the benefit of world-devouring U.S. imperialism. By taking advantage of the unwise statements and measures of usurpers of authority in our homeland, America is escalating its military presence in the region as much as possible.

As we are aware, so far numerous good-will delegations, whether from Islamic countries or from the United Nations or from nonaligned countries, have demanded an end to a war that is detrimental to the Muslim nations of Iran and Iraq and beneficial to international imperialism, led by world-devouring America. For whatever reason, those who manage affairs in Iraq have consented to end the war, and to settle points of dispute between the two countries through negotiations. But the Islamic government is not ready whatsoever to take any measures to end the senseless war, and continues to persist in its prolongation.

It seems that for those who have usurped power over the waves of the Iranian nation's revolution and by unfairly exploiting the people's religious beliefs, alleviating the thirst of egoism and fame is more important than the interests of the Iranian nation and country. They are ready to set fire to a country and to send a nation to its death for this purpose.

The only condition that leaders of the Islamic Government accept to end the war and fratricide is expulsion of Saddam Husayn from the government and imposition of an Islamic region--similar to the freedom-suppressing regime ruling in our homeland--over the Iraqi people; however, we all know that changing the regime is the job of the Iraqi nation.

As we are aware, recently the UN Security Council once more reviewed the issue of the war between Iran and Iraq and recommended to both countries to end the filthy war and to settle issues of dispute through peaceful means and negotiations. Despite the shortcomings that exist in the work of this international organization, this recommendation is in the interest of both warring nations. Common sense dictates that attention be devoted to this humane recommendation, and that necessary measures be adopted to end the war. The Iraqi Government is prepared to act in accordance with the UN Security Council's recommendation, but as we are aware, the Islamic government continues to demand the removal of Saddam Husaym from power and the establishment of a regime favored by the clergy who are in power in Iran.

These gentlemen claim that they have allegedly brought about a situation in which the Iraqi regime's collapse is imminent, and that on the basis of this vain thought thousands of Iranians should be dispatched to their death. The only result achieved from this childish and war-mongering policy by the Islamic rulers in our country is that by exploiting the prolongation of war between Iran and Iraq, America is every minute escalating further its military presence in the region in order to allegedly assume the task of safeguarding the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz.

The imposed war between Iran and Iraq is continuing with intensity, and every day hundreds of people are being killed in this war. Responsibility for the war's prolongation lies on the shoulders of the Islamic government which refuses to end the war. Our homeland's people demand that an end be put to this bloodshed and war by means of an honorable peace that secures independence and territorial integrity as well as reparations for the damages arising from the imposed war.

CSO: 4640/31

FORMER PRIME MINISTER DENIES REPORT ON PURPOSE OF CHINA TRIP

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 13 Oct 83 p 3

[Text]

Former Prime Minister Kirti Nidhi Bista, in a statement issued here Sunday, described as "undesirable speculation and kite flying" a news item published in "The Telegraph" concerning his recent visit to People's Republic of China.

He said he deemed it his responsibility to contradict it, as any further delay to this affect may adversely affect the age-old relations so happily subsisting between Nepal and India.

Such reportings do not only excite the people living in peace and harmony in Nepal and create tensions but also disturb Nepal-India friendship, he said.

He said the reporting that "Nepal has sent special envoy to China to seek support in the event of an ethnic crisis, similiar to that of Sri Lanka, developing in the Terai region" is baseless, imaginary and mischievous.

The former Prime Minister said Nepal is a sovereign, independent and peace loving kingdom and that from the Mechi in the east to the Mahakali in the west, the people living in the Terai region, valleys and the Himalayan regions are all Nepalese owing their allegiance to Nepal only.

The unity and goodwill among people speaking different languages, races and communities is perpetual and that they are marching forward in the making of modern Nepal as members of one great family.

He said in such a time those, inside and outside, attempting to disturb Nepalese society are not well wishers of the state.

Being vigilant from such elements, we should strive to play a very responsible role keeping always the supreme national interest in mind.

Nepal and India are extremely close neighbours, he said and added geography, religion, culture and economic activities have played a vital role in bringing these two countries so close and developing meaningful relations.

Nepal-India relations are continuously expanding and becoming fruitful based as they are on mutual benefit, cooperation, trust and understanding.

In case of misunderstandings and problems arising, they should be removed and solved as soon as possible through friendly talks. Therein lies the interest of both the countries, he concluded.

## PLEA FOR RECOGNITION OF ZONE OF PEACE PROPOSAL

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 24 Oct 83 p 2

[Editorial: "Peace Symbol"]

[Text] The description of Lumbini, the birthplace of Lord Buddha, as a symbol of peace and understanding by the United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar is an apt description of a site revered by millions of people the world over. There is little doubt that Lord Buddha was one of the world's greatest religious giving to the strife-torn world the immortal message of peace, tolerance and understanding. As such, the fact that Lord Buddha was born in Nepal at Lumbini is a matter of pride for all Nepalese people. And indeed it is in keeping with Lord Buddha's message of universal peace and brotherhood that Nepal has proposed that it be declared a Zone of Peace. Apart from the practical side of Lord Buddha's teachings, there are also the religious aspects. There are millions of Buddhists the world over for whom the holy site at Lumbini is a place for pilgrimage. As a matter of fact, it is to cater to the needs of those who undertake pilgrimage to Lumbini as well as to promote it as a tourist centre that efforts are presently under way to develop Lumbini as a major pilgrimage and tourist centre.

Buddhists in many countries, including Japan and South Korea, have made liberal contributions towards the Lumbini development project. The latest to do so is the National Committee for the Development of Lumbini of the United States which has just announced a contribution of some 70 million rupees. A master plan for the development of Lumbini had been prepared several years ago and activities are now taking place in conformity with the plan. However, there is no denying that the progress has not been as swift as desired for which a number of reasons can be attributed including the dearth of adequate resources. Indeed, the contributions from Buddhists from many countries are among the major sources for the funding of the project. In this context, it must not be forgotten that though born in Nepal, Lord Buddha belongs to the whole world with many countries wanting to contribute towards the development of Lumbini. To recall, the initiative for the development of Lumbini was taken by the late UN Secretary General U Thant, a devout Buddhist. Since then, committees have been set up in many countries to assist the project. In this regard, it is heartening to note, therefore, that such a committee is to be set up soon in Canada. Aside from contributions from other countries, Nepal, too, has its own responsibilities to discharge regarding the project.

This includes the construction of an all-weather metalled road to Lumbini and provision of other basic infrastructures for development of the Lumbini region. It goes without saying that His Majesty's Government ought to ensure that all its responsibilities are fully met within the stipulated time-frame as Nepal has the additional responsibility of completing the project. The Lumbini project is, after all, a fully Nepalese project financed by international voluntary contributions.

CSO: 4600/105

JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION VOICES DEMANDS

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 11 Oct 83 p 6

[Text]

Nepal Journalists' Association has demanded that His Majesty's Government should halt activities such as cancelling registration of newspapers without giving any opportunity for clarification.

A meeting of the association held here Sunday also demanded that the circular prohibiting HMG and corporations from providing advertisement to newspapers be immediately withdrawn, besides making available advertisement provided by the Department of Information to all newspapers without any discrimination.

Noting that newspapers published from outside the capital faced shortage of newsprint, the meeting also demanded that arrangement be made under which newsprint is made available to all newspapers published from the Kingdom.

The meeting was chaired by president of Nepal Journalists' Association Nirmal Kumar Aryal.



# DEVELOPMENT DISCUSSED IN DETAIL

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 14 Oct 83 p 5

["Extract" from paper by Davendra Raj Panday, former Nepalese Government finance secretary, at the Integrated Development System seminar on "Foreign Aid and Development in Nepal" 5 October 1983: "Fruitful Help or Unhealthy Dependence?"]

[Excerpts] One month before the 104 year-old Rana regime was brought to an end, the government of the United States of America signed a technical cooperation agreement with Nepal under the Point Four Programme. If we assume that economic development of the country became an objective of the state with the promulgation of the Interim Government Act of February 1951, we can say that foreign aid made its debut in Nepal before there was any serious thinking on economic development as a goal within the country's administration. Five years later, the country's First Five Year Plan was prepared and inaugurated mainly as a response to the requirement of the Colombo Plan Consultative Group Meeting which Nepal attended as a full-fledged member for the first time in 1955.

Foreign aid thus appears to have played a laudable role in as much as it has inspired successive governments in Nepal to demonstrate their commitment to development. I use the verb "inspire" advisedly. Even if the desire of the people in Nepal for a better living standard was the product of endogenous stimuli, everything else--from the objective of development to the strategy, policies and projects--was destined to be influenced by foreign aid. It is true everywhere that foreign aid transmits not only money but also ideas, values and technologies. In Nepal, this linkage between aid and development has become more pronounced. After all, talk and action about development in the country started virtually simultaneously with the inflow of foreign assistance. The record of Nepal's development performance has thus become indistinguishable from that of foreign aid.

"Bye-bye"

In Nepal, foreign aid occupies a prominent place in the government's policy statements, discussions in the national legislature, arguments of various non-governmental political groups, deliberations of intellectuals and the reports and reviews in the press. Apart from this, the ubiquitous expatriate

officials and advisors, donated-vehicles-equipment-fertiliser-foodgrains and so forth, generate and sustain an impression of a pervasive penetration of foreign assistance in Nepali national life. The fact that, in the villages, a native playing his own development advisory role is greeted, especially by children, with "bye-bye's" must be symbolic in more ways than one of such a penetration at the "grass-root" level. While such impression of one kind or another--positive or negative--abound, the purpose of this is to examine and explain, at a more concrete, albeit mundane level, the role of external resources in national investment.

With the possible exception of Bangladesh for which full information is not available, Nepal has the highest degree of foreign aid as a percentage of government expenditure in the region. More than 38 percent of total government expenditure is financed by foreign aid in Nepal, where the former as a percentage of GDP is about 14 percent. If we assume that all of the regular expenditure and 40 percent of development expenditure go to finance activities other than those which can be classified as capital investment, the investment component in the total expenditure of Rs.4092 million in 1980/81 would be somewhere around 40 percent also. This means that, directly or indirectly, almost the entire public sector investment (except small investment items directly financed by a few public enterprises) is financed by foreign aid in Nepal. At this day and age of "basic needs" and "rural development", it would be hazardous even to imply that foreign aid should finance only capital investment. But if we accept that domestic resources and foreign aid have the same opportunity cost, we can ignore their respective allocations for the time being and argue that almost the entire investment in the public sector is dependent upon foreign aid.

Foreign aid, which now appears as an instrument of creating unhealthy dependency or even subjugation to some social scientists, has been appreciated by the majority of the Nepali people as a positive and fruitful relationship for over three decades. After all, foreign aid is an addition to real resources. Accordingly, expectations have been raised and if the people have not benefited it is inevitable that the donor community finds itself facing charges of mismanagement or, worse, "collusion" with the government because the two have almost become indistinguishable in the arena of developmental action. It is, therefore, worthwhile to briefly review what has been accomplished in concrete terms.

#### Free-for-all

Nepal's planners are magnificently adaptive. Inability to define the country's development strategy in accordance with the changing times has never been one of our weaknesses. In the early years of planning, "changing times" meant, at least on some occasions, new appreciation of the country's basic problems and potentials as it emerged from the implementation of one plan to the next. Not that great successes were achieved. But one could at least hope to make incremental gains by judicious application of lessons learnt from experience even while the planners, administrators, and the donors made their share of the mistakes. Later on, fortunately or unfortunately, greater exposure to the shifting development ideologies and their changing vocabulary

purveyed, sometimes, by foreign aid, has led to a situation where we are not sure if Nepal even has a strategy for development other than the dutiful recital of development themes that are fashionable at a given point in time. At a practical level, development strategy has tended to follow aid rather than vice versa.

Five year plan or no five year plan, the ability of His Majesty's Government of Nepal to devise a long-term development strategy of its own, while being dependent upon external aid from a variety of sources for 60 per cent of its plan outlay is highly problematic, even assuming that the will is there. In fact, if experience to this date is any guide, it will not happen under the existing conditions. On the other hand, it is doubtful if any of the donors has a long-term or medium-term strategy of its own for the development of Nepal.

In practice, we have a void in Nepal's development strategic framework, which allows a free-for-all type of environment for experimentation. Under the circumstances, it is not surprising if some of the technical assistance experts succumb to their professional biases and personal weaknesses and peddle their own ideas and interests. The donors may sincerely feel that Nepal deserves maximum aid and wish to provide its full share. To deliver such aid, however, one needs the mechanism of a project or projects. Of course, an isolated project on its own does not make much sense and can, in fact, be easily rejected by the pundits at the headquarters. Usually, therefore, a makeshift strategy is formulated which constitutes largely of the attempt at honest rationalization based on prevailing trends in the international fashion world of development. With several donors in the fray there can be several such strategies at any given time. Meanwhile, damages are inflicted upon the Nepali society by creating a false impression that the "new" approach will make a breakthrough.

It is the production front where we, the donors and the Nepalis; have failed miserably; and it is on this front that we have been rationalizing, if for no other reason than to keep ourselves professionally alive so that we can keep trying. So, forgetting all that we tried to do for rural development in the 1950's and the 1960's or the thirty years of cooperation for the development of agriculture between His Majesty's Government and several donors, we have to convince ourselves that it is only recently that we started working on "integrated" rural development, farming systems and so on and that we have to give ourselves some more time.

Sometimes, one gets a feeling that the donors are more committed to Nepal's development (no sarcasm intended) or, at least, more accountable for what goes on out of their taxpayers' money than the recipient government. Within the government, hardly anybody is seriously challenged, for example, when in spite of all the technical efforts, agricultural productivity goes down. The perfunctory explanation that is usually provided is not only inadequate, but, often, also inappropriate.

For example, we hear a great deal about the problem of soil erosion in the hills and the cultivation of marginal land as the factors that pull the average productivity downward over time. But these phenomena constitute the

effect, not the cause of decline in agricultural productivity. A principal reason for declining productivity may have to do with the institutional and socio-political factors on which an answer is neither given nor expected.

In the field of industrial production, the donors once again having done their best to set up institutions and to provide them with resources for the promotion of manufacturing enterprises in the country, found themselves having been instrumental in the promotion of an industry like hotels, the beneficiary of which has been a group or groups that were not the anticipated recipients.

#### Manpower Reservoir

A general impression is that Nepal has made significant progress in the field of economic and social infrastructure since 1950, and that this progress would not have been possible without foreign aid. There is an element of truth in this because foreign aid has meant not only an addition to general resources but also a means to finance specific projects related to these fields. Such progress has been recounted at one place as follows: "Cumulative growth in specific sectors during 1950-80 show significant increases: 13 times in road mileage, 170 times in power generation, 13 times in irrigation facility, 134 times in school enrolment, 12 times in number of hospital beds along with control of various endemic diseases".

Because of the very low base we started out with in 1951, this type of computation can, of course, give an exaggerated impression of progress. Nevertheless, the contribution of foreign aid in the construction of whatever degree of road-network we have managed to develop so far, in the development of air transport, telecommunications, hydel-power, promotion of primary to higher education and health service, cannot be ignored. It is also an inescapable truth that several major manufacturing enterprises in the public as well as private sector owe their origin to foreign aid. Above all, Nepal has now a large reservoir of trained manpower which has been made possible by external assistance to a great extent.

The relevant question for our purpose is what has been the role of foreign aid in this context. Has the Nepali economy performed badly in spite of foreign aid or is it because of the dependence on foreign aid. Could it even be possible that foreign aid in the form of extra resources available (not necessarily devoted) to investment is irrelevant for the Nepali economy? Without an extensive quantitative assessment through a reliably specified macro-planning model of the Nepali economy, this question cannot be easily answered. Even if we cannot be very optimistic about the indigenous strength and viability of our economy, the role and importance given to foreign aid need not be vindicated. One of the primary functions of foreign aid assistance is to buy time - time enough to mobilize and manage an internally generated momentum of growth. What may have sustained us, or even saved us from total disaster in the past, will not have played its proper role if it is eventually going to ruin us in the future. Here, the issues are not just about the misuses of foreign aid resources or the marginal efficiency of foreign capital. Rather, it is the broader and more critical concern for the design of development. To what extent does excessive dependence on foreign aid financing transform, co-opt or even obviate the need for fashioning a rational, workable and committed development strategy for Nepal?

If the impact on development has not been commensurate with the anticipated result of development partnership between His Majesty's Government and the donors, this means that resources are being misallocated or, at least expenditures are incurred without a clear strategy. The only question is whether this is a part of the design or a product of inadequate understanding of the forces of development.

#### Basic Needs Mantra

In some way Nepal is the victim of the international tendency to classify or group countries for the purpose of the U.N. resolutions, the aid administrators, the bargaining nations, and the academic. Under such a grouping Nepal belongs to the Third World. When the new mantra of basic needs was discovered for the Third World, Nepal swallowed it, especially since a need for fresh rationalization, as described above, was felt on all sides.

The irony is that Nepal is nowhere near enjoying the standard of living of most of the Third World countries. It does not suit us to argue in concert with the other Third World countries that we are beleaguered by lack of resources when, according to one estimate, close to Rs. 1000 crores would be in the committed pipeline awaiting disbursement at the end of this fiscal year.

It is apparent that if foreign aid's role in the financing of Nepal's development efforts remains unchanged, the future direction of such development will depend upon the donors even more than in the past. This is not to ask the donors that they assume the responsibility for Nepal's development. This would be absurd. This is only to alert them of the immense influence that they carry, knowingly and unknowingly, on the course that Nepal's development (or lack of it) has taken and will take in the future. Taking an attitude of "meanwhile we plod along" has been counter-productive as far as the Nepali people, the apparent beneficiaries, are concerned.

The place to begin, at least, for the major donors is to evaluate their entire efforts so far and examine for themselves whether the "charge" that they have floundered together with the government is valid. When the "new" concepts are discovered in the "old" files, we will know the real reason for lack of progress, the donors' constraints, the opportunities for technical assistance as well as its limitations and, above all, the need and the possibility for a hard-nosed dialogue with the government. As one example, the donors may discover the incongruity in their own strategic approach with regard to Nepal's hydel potential when they realize that they are prepared to seriously consider financing such projects at a time when they are all for "basic need". They would not even look at these resources at a time when they were concentrating on "economic" projects and when the projects could have been implemented more "economically". Once such soul searching is done on the side of the donors, they should individually and collectively demand the same on the part of the recipient, namely, His Majesty's Government.

Another area where some adjustment is necessary is the role of panchayats in community development. These institutions need not be the only umbrella for the organization of local efforts and participation especially since our

concern now is to provide the poor with access to resources. The traditional and not-so-traditional community and social groups may have an equally important role to play.

### Pushing Policies

Emphasis on production does not mean a license to exploit the poor. In fact, at least in the case of the all important agricultural sector, removal of inequities based on land holdings and the tenure system is demonstrably a necessary condition for increasing production. As an Asian Development Bank study points out, "the development of agriculture will stagnate unless institutional changes are introduced which will enhance the motivation or capability of those who are actually cultivating the land". If there is no political will for this, if the country's social structure does not permit it and if the donors are helpless about it, there is no point in wasting time and resources in conceptual digressions in the name of the poor or whatever.

Growth-oriented approaches failed in several countries mainly because appropriate redistributive and fiscal policies were not implemented concurrently under the influence of dominant interest groups in the respective societies. Rural development programmes are not succeeding in Nepal for similar reasons. Time has therefore, come for the donors to seriously assess their role in the development of Nepal. I emphasize the donors, and not the government - because the latter has always admitted that the responsibility for Nepal's development or lack of it ultimately falls on its shoulders and it will no doubt have to bear the weight of that burden one day. It is for the donors to realize now that they have a place in Nepal's development only if they can push policies instead of just projects.

### Painful Process

Measures to check corruption should also be an element of the "bottom line of policies". Without facilitating a process of economic growth, foreign aid has adversely affected equity for two reasons. First, because of the unequal distribution of assets and political power to begin with. Second, by being instrumental in the promotion of corruption in this society. Even if the suppliers of goods and services and the agents of change are given a clean check, there is an impression that the donors have developed a high degree of tolerance against corruption. If they develop a complete immunity in this respect, the corrosive influence of foreign aid will take a higher toll on the moral and social fabric of this society.

It is understood and agreed that aid, to Nepal is for the socio-economic improvement of its people, unlike the "economic support aid" that some major powers provide their client states. With the record of foreign aid's performance having been what it is, there is no alternative to taking steps in the direction suggested above; and the proposals are far from being radical. If the status quo is maintained any further development aid to Nepal will be no different from the "economic aid" of the type mentioned above. From the point of view of the needs and the problems of the Nepali people, such aid might as well be stopped altogether. The advantage would be that the contradictions can be settled internally, howsoever a painful process that might be for some of us.



# STUDY REPORTS DECLINE IN RICE, CORN PRODUCTION LAST FISCAL YEAR

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 23 Oct 83 p 3

[Text] Adverse weather condition caused decline in maize and paddy production in the country in the last fiscal year with the total production at 340 thousand tons as against the target of 440 thousand tons.

According to a study, resources were however mobilised as per the target.

Production of wheat was however more than the target set, the study says, adding, wheat production could in fact exceed the target always given interest of the units concerned in carrying out wheat production programmes.

Despite the satisfactory production, wheat could not get market in time in the last fiscal year and it is feared that less number of farmers will show interest in wheat cultivation this year.

Resources mobilisation was also satisfactory in livestock development in the fiscal year 1982/83, the study says, adding, however the target of raising production of milk, fruit and meat remained unrealised.

The recently signed agreement between Nepal and China on pasture facilities for border inhabitants has brought to a bold relief the need of resolving the problem concerning pasture in the next four to five years, the study says and points out that it is not known whether any progress has been recorded in pasture development programme.

Besides unfavourable weather, another cause of decline in cereal production was the inability to provide agricultural inputs to the farmers in time, the study says.

Production of cash crops and some other special crops cultivated with a view to raising the income of the farmers does not seem satisfactory. Likewise, mushroom production and silk cultivation programmes, though significant from the point of view of the economic benefit to the farmers, have fallen far behind the target, the study has revealed.

Noting that the percentage of projects recording minimum progress has upped the study says, while two percent of the total number of projects fell in this

category in the fiscal year 1981-82, it has increased to six percent in the last fiscal year.

Likewise, the number of projects report on which are not sent has increased, the study says and adds, it has become necessary to take appropriate steps against the ministry which fails to send report on project performances.

Although production has fallen behind the target in the last fiscal year, the average production of the past three years is not unsatisfactory in view of the fact that agriculture production in the fiscal years 1979-80 and 1980-81 were quite good.

The target set under the sixth plan could therefore be realized provided that weather condition becomes favourable and means and resources are mobilised in time in the next two years.

CSO: 4600/105



# BUFFER FOODGRAIN STORAGE SYSTEM BEING CONSIDERED

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 28 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] Agriculture and Land Reforms Minister Hom Bahadur Malla has said that HMG is adopting the policy of creating buffer foodgrain storage system for distributing foodgrain to the people.

Minister Malla was speaking at a talk programme organised here Thursday morning to mark the Third World Food Day.

Pointing out that HMG policy is to make available foodgrain at subsidised rates in the remoter areas and distribute foodgrain speedily in areas where there are transportation links and keep stocks for times of natural calamities, Minister Malla added that HMG had laid greater emphasis on raising agricultural productivity since the past five year plans giving due priority to the agriculture sector.

The investment thus far made in the agriculture sector, said Minister Malla, has produced some productivity rises and appropriate manpower visibly.

HMG is determined to make available agricultural inputs to farmers at fair prices and bring down the prices of nutritious foodstuffs said Minister Malla.

Acting Agriculture Secretary, Dr. Deep Raj Sharma elaborating on the need for raising agricultural productivity said that the government's policy regarding food should be to launch in the form of a campaign to make available nutritious and protein rich foodstuffs to the people at low cost and adequate quantities.

Supplies Secretary Damodar Gautam, speaking on arrangement for supply of foodgrains, said Nepal, a traditionally foodgrain exporting country, imported about 100 thousand metric tons of foodgrains last year.

A 10-year programme to resolve foodgrain supply was on the anvil, he added.

Resident representative of Food and Agriculture Organisation George Aukshin suggested that a national foodgrain project with emphasis on increased production should be formulated.

# NEED FOR SECOND INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, SITE CHOICES DISCUSSED

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 11 Oct 83 p 5

[Article by Kunda Dixit: "Why Do We Need a Second International Airport?"]

[Text]

So Nepal is going to have another international airport. To Kathmanduites who have watched the long take-off run for the expansion of the existing international airport on the outskirts of the capital, the first question that probably comes to mind is: "When? In the 21st century?"

While there may be cause for this kind of cynicism, let's do a little better by being healthily sceptical. The Spanish government has demonstrated a "strong interest" in helping Nepal construct a second international airport. So far that is all we know. We do not know whether they are going to build it for us for free, on a loan basis, or least of all where it is going to be constructed. A Spanish technical team is expected to visit Nepal next year to decide.

Coming from a country that receives 45 million tourists annually (much more than Spain's own population) we are obviously being advised by veterans in the field. But

before they arrive, it is important that we do our homework.

The debate on whether Nepal really needs another international airport can now be forgotten. So the question will center on where we are going to have it. A major international airport is not like building a rice godown, the costs involved are more at par with the construction investments needed for mountain highways.

To determine where we need this other airport, we have to first ask ourselves why we need it. The major why that is being talked about in civil aviation circles is the need for an alternate landing site for flights diverted from Kathmandu due to bad weather. At present diverted flights usually fly to Patna, which is 30 jet-minutes away. Obviously, it would be better if the flights could land in an airport in Nepal, preferably close enough to the capital so that passengers could conveniently take a bus to Kathmandu if the airport is closed for

longer periods of time.

The imperative of this argument is even more convincing if we note that being in a seismically active zone, Tribhuvan airport could, in case of a major earthquake, remain closed for an indefinite period. An alternate airport close to the capital capable of handling jets therefore is something that has needs to be planned for. That is the strongest argument in favour of a contingency jetport. Otherwise, building an entirely new airport solely on grounds that there is a need to find a place where aircraft can land in case Kathmandu is fogbound will be a colossal waste of resources.

An unofficial estimate of the number of flights that had to be diverted to Patna during this monsoon season stands at four. In winter, when morning fog limits visibility in Kathmandu Valley, diversions do occur when the mist doesn't lift till noon which is rare. Building a separate airport just for these half a dozen flights will be bad economics. It would be infinitely cheaper to time arrivals in the late morning or afternoon in winter.

Obviously, other factors that favour the airport must be taken into account. Besides the strategic alternative to Kathmandu, there is also the much talked about factor of tourism diversification within Nepal to ease the burden on the capital. Kathmandu is still the only entry point for international flights. With the kind of image Kathmandu is

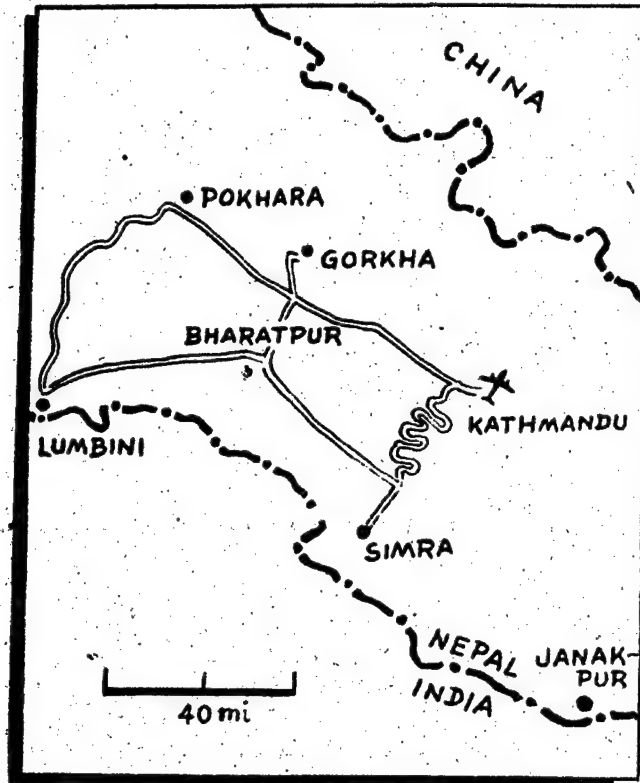
becoming famous for (airport hassles, crowded and unhealthy streets, etc.) tourists would be glad to sidestep Kathmandu altogether if they could help it.

If the new airport is to be used for tourism generation, then it must be located close to major centres of tourism. Also, the facilities for tourists should precede the building of the airport in a manner that will launch the airport as an attractive new alternative to a Nepal holiday. We could also expect considerable opposition to this from Kathmandu's powerful hotel lobbies who are noted for their valley-centric vision.

So, where can the airport be? Simra used to be cited as the potential site in the past. That was in the days when the Tribhuvan Rajpath was the only road to Kathmandu from the south and nine hours away by bus from Simra.

Simra's disadvantage is that today it still is a full six hours drive away from Kathmandu by the best route. A much better site could be Bharatpur because it is much closer to Kathmandu, and more because of its proximity an easy access to surrounding tourist spots (Chitwan, Lumbini, Gorkha, Pokhara).

An east-west aligned runway on the Middle-Terai Valley of the Rapti near Bharatpur could facilitate landings by jet aircraft and even the possible installation of Instrument Landing System which Kathmandu cannot have because of



terrain. An ILS would also make Bharatpur a sure-shot alternative to Kathmandu, even in case of poor visibility and fog in both airports. An ILS would make it possible for airliners to make short work of landing in Bharatpur's characteristic winter morning mist — visual conditions in which Kathmandu's VOR-DME is next to useless.

The conclusion, eviden-

tly, is yes Nepal does need another international airport. But only if there is a guaranteed resulting boost to tourism through diversification. Only if we can show that we can manage two international airports even though we have proved that we cannot even manage one properly. Only if it is suitably located near tourist sites and Kathmandu. Only if...

CSO: 4600/104

NEPAL

# EXPORT PROMOTION PROJECT PLANNED

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 11 Oct 83 p 2

[Text] Annual export project will be launched on a competitive basis from the current fiscal year.

A decision to this effect was taken at recently concluded second meeting of National Export Trade Development Council.

Executive Director Shanta Ram Bhandari told the press here yesterday that such project is to be formulated and launched every year in keeping with the trade policy 2039 B.S. for the promotion of export trade.

The annual export project will reivew export situation of the previous years and recommend the kind of activities needed to be undertaken for development and expansion of export trade. Besides, it also projects an estimated annual export target for some chief exportable goods, he said.

Jute and jute goods, goat skin, woolen carpet, cardamom, dry ginger, catechu, tobacco handicrafts, readymade garments are the principal items.

CSO: 4600/104

GOVERNMENT'S HANDLING OF PRESS CRITICIZED

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 10 Oct 83 p 3

[Editorial: "Free Press"]

[Text] It seems that the government has been acting with a speed to ban newspapers. The government is hardly three month old and two weeklies have been banned with cancellation of their registration. If the government is to act with this speed, the country will no doubt be left with only a couple of newspapers in a few months' time. The anti-press attitude of the government is also evident from the way journalists are being treated roughly in the capital and elsewhere in the country. Reports say that the pressmen are manhandled and mistreated with the government doing nothing at all to give protection to them. A case in point is the way a correspondent of vernacular weekly Lokamat of Baken was manhandled by District Panchayat President in cooperation with the local authorities.

It is true that with the mushrooming of newspapers there have been some irresponsible reportings against the government but manhandling of the pressmen and cancellation of registration are extreme measures which do not become a government profesesing to be democratic. Irresponsible or mischievous reportings can be controlled by adopting due legal measures and through better management of the government--press relations. But the way the government has been handling the press today is neither in the interest of the country nor in the interest of a free press the absence of which badly reflects on the panchayat system.

CSO: 4600/104

UTILIZATION OF FOREIGN AID SAID FAULTY, BENEFITTING UPPER CLASSES ONLY

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 5 Oct 83 pp 1, 4

[Text] Foreign aid and its role in development came under critical review at a Kathmandu seminar organised by a private research organisation, the Integrated Development Systems, which opened here yesterday.

The two-day seminar was organised with a view to contributing to a better understanding of the objective condition in respect of the role of foreign aid in Nepal.

The seminar "would initiate a process of inter-action whereby the policy-makers in the government can benefit from hitherto scarce feedback on the performance of foreign assistance in the country from independent research and discussions, said Dr Devendra Raj Pandey of the IDS.

Dr. Mohan Man Saiju, Vice-Chairman of the National Planning Commission, who presided over the second session in the afternoon, stressed the need for "developing a development oriented accountability culture."

"At present, nobody is accountable for development projects," Dr. Saiju said and suggested that accountability should begin at the political level first to reach the bureaucratic level later.

He regretted that the directives given by His Majesty the King during the tour of the eastern development region regarding foreign aid has been shelved as nothing had happened since then.

Dr. Mahesh Banskota, who presented a paper on "foreign aid and the poor: some observation on Nepal's experience", at the second session regretted that in spite of the increasing levels of external assistance, the economy has not shown very encouraging signs.

Citing several case studies Dr. Banskota said that the results in education, health, drinking water, cottage industries and employment indicate that the poor have got only marginal benefit.

"Bureaucracy has become politicised to such an extent that planning, economic and financial discipline required for effective economic management are practically impossible," Dr. Banskota said.

He said, "in a country where all organisations thrive on the patronage of the government which is almost totally elitist, development for the poor with and without foreign aid can only be seen as a residual, and not the thrust of development."

Dr. Chaitanya Mishra and Dr. Pitamber Sharma in their paper "foreign aid and social structure: notes on interstate relationships," in the first session argued that the foreign aid had by and large supported the upper class in Nepal

Bina Pradhan and Indira Shrestha argued that women have either been left out of all the major national development projects or included only in minor peripheral activities.

CSO: 4600/104



## NEPAL

### BRIEFS

CHINESE AMBASSADOR TO NEPAL--Mr. Tu Guowei has been appointed as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the Kingdom of Nepal. It is stated in a press release issued here Sunday by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 24 Oct 83 p 1]

WATER TEAM ON STUDY TOUR--A nine member Nepalese delegation led by Executive Secretary in the Secretariat of the Water and Power Commission, Mr. Bhubanesh Kumar Pradhan, left here Tuesday for Pakistan on the first leg of the study visit to water resources development projects of Pakistan, Egypt, Sudan and Sri Lanka. The delegation will also study various aspects of international water resources utilisation. Other members of the delegation are Joint Secretary Govinda Das Shrestha, Executive Directors Dr. Chandra Kant Sharma, Nanda Kishore Agrawal, Shiva Nath Sharma, Dr. Hariman Shrestha, project chief Sagar Narasingh Pradhan and Under Secretaries Shiva Prasad Kayastha and Bidur K.C. The tour will be of about four weeks. [Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 26 Oct 83 p 1]

CSO: 4600/105

## PAKISTAN-SAUDI RELATIONS EXAMINED; SAUDI POLICY ON INDIA PROTESTED

Peshawar KHYBER MAIL in English 14 Oct 83 p 3

[Editorial: "Pak-Saudi Relations"]

[Text] The Leader of the Sacred Places (Imam ul-Haramain), King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz al-Saud, in an audience to a Pakistani Minister on visit, whipped all the three nations of South Asia, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, with the same stick. He is stated to have demanded amity between the three nations, without reservations. Doubtless this is a consummation devoutly to be wished on all hands, but looking at things objectively the Saudi advice should first have gone to the Indians who have been lately taking into their heads to make it their sacred duty to throw a spanner in the Pakistani works. Only recently a "round table" of Indian scholars, military and political experts, is supposed to have recommended active interference in Pakistan's internal affairs. It sought through this to provide a seal of intellectual correctness to the policies pursued by the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, on similar lines. One may recall that in the middle of 1971 the Indian Institute of Strategic Studies had called for positive action for the dismemberment of Pakistan as an "opportunity of the century" and faithfully followed by the same Prime Minister. There is nothing theoretical about the manipulated intellectual stamp and such a move is intended only to provide a counterblast to the die-hard pacifists of the country and a justification for disruptive action, beginning with interference. Pakistan thought it had come a long way from the time Saudi crowds were collected to hail Jawaharlal Nehru as the "Rasul us-Salam" or "Messenger of Peace", in Riyadh and three Islamic summits, umpteens of conferences of the Islamic Foreign Ministers, the actively working Organisation of Islamic Countries, and quite a number of other institutions exclusively of the Ummah, would have gone a long way towards educating the Saudi theoreticians in strategy, both political and economic, to have a factual understanding of the issues involved. Pakistan and Bangladesh are both members of all such forums distinctively naming them as part and parcel of the universal Islamic brotherhood, to be given special treatment. For that purpose, the advice of the Saudi monarch should have been more actively delivered to the Indians rather than to a Pakistan Minister, as it makes all the difference.

In the first instance, it seems to accuse, by innuendo, that it was Pakistan which was trying to disturb the peaceful status quo of the Indian sub-continent, whereas it is most certain that the boot is on the other leg. It also

states in an implicit way that the Saudi Government intended to treat all the states of the region, both Muslim and non-Muslim, with the same neutral approach and it has no preferences, even if two of them are Muslim and the third a nation of idolators, an attitude which is in direct contradistinction to the teachings of the Holy Quran itself. We may point out that we are simply underlining the factual situation and not exaggerating in any way when we differentiate the national disassimilations in this manner. For, being Muslim ourselves, we know the division of nations only way, laid down by the Quran, that of the kuffar, the People of the Book and the Muslims. Since there can hardly be a political arrangement to bring all the Muslim nations under a single hegemony, the next best situation in which they can exist is that of a single bloc, a millat or commonwealth of Muslim nations in which all the citizens receive preference over the others and promote among themselves a spirit of equal cooperation. In South Asia, there are three nations, two of which are Muslim and the third is not only different but inimical to Muslim interests whether within its own boundaries or outside. They obviously cannot be bracketed together the way the Saudi monarch has done. Being a member of the Islamic fraternity, the followers of one book, One God, one Prophet (Sm.) we have the right to protest.

For some time past, it has been remarked, the need of manpower in developing Saudi Arabia has led the Government there to seek their needs in non-Muslim countries like South Korea, Philippines, India (in the last two countries there are many Muslims, but no special preference is given to them) and elsewhere too. We agree the Saudis have a right to get their requirements anywhere they can find them cheaper and proficient. If that rule is applied strictly and uniformly, we regret to say, the meaning of the Islamic solidarity does not have any meaning; it deteriorates to a mere verbal assertion with hardly any special connotation, specially when all avenues of fulfilling their needs both cheaply and proficiently have not been tried and found wanting, which has not been done. There are still vast areas where Muslim workers, both skilled and non-skilled still either remain unemployed or have to seek their field of work in non-Muslim countries. This attitude is not only dangerous but has enabled inimical interests to make inroads into Muslim polity to subvert it from within. If the Saudi monarch has to use his influence for peace in South Asia, it should be by addressing its appeal to India and not Pakistan.

CSO: 4600/97

INDIAN PAPER QUOTED ON INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 5 Nov 83 p 8

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 4--Leading English Daily "Indian Express" yesterday counselled restraint and circumspection by officials, public figures and the media lest the positive thrust given to Indo-Pakistan relations should be lost.

The paper whose Editor's interview with President Ziaul Haq appeared in Wednesday issue, yesterday opened its editorial with an advice that the remarks made by Pakistan President on the Indo-Pakistan relations strike a positive note which should be reciprocated. The editorial captioned 'resume dialogue' said there was an unfortunate slide-down in mutual relations following certain observations made by Mrs Gandhi here which were read in Pakistan as interference in the internal affairs of that country. The government of India has insisted that there had been no interference and none was intended. Recent events show how fragile Indo-Pakistan relations remain despite the movement towards normalisation and the initiation of a dialogue at many levels.

Old suspicions die hard and internal problems of transition and approaching elections in both countries can be expected to accentuate sensitivities on tiehr side of the border.

The Editorial said for each country relations with the other constitute the single most important element in their foreign policy. This must be recognised and accorded the priority it merits. India's election to the Security Council provides opportunity for working closely with Pakistan on a number of important issues of regional and global concern. The two countries should come together as partners, not rivals they now have another most valuable forum for working together.--APP

CSO: 4600/125

## TRADE AGREEMENT WITH SAUDI ARABIA LIKELY

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 4 Nov 83 p 8

[Text]

JEDDAH, Nov. 3: Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are exploring the possibility of concluding a bilateral trade agreement and institutionalisation of arrangements for reviewing the progress of trade through a joint committee of the two countries.

Pakistan's Commerce Secretary Izharul Haq who led his country's trade mission to the kingdom in the last week of October discussed the issue with Saudi Commerce Minister and was assured favourable consideration of the agreement proposal in the interest of greater flow of trade and economic co-operation.

Saudi Commerce Minister Dr. Soliman A. Solaim assured the leader of Pakistan delegation that kingdom being a very lucrative market of the world had good scope for supply of Pakistani products and would welcome any measures which would help expand exports from brotherly Pakistan.

Izharul Haq renewed the invitation extended to Saudi Commerce Minister to visit Pakistan and he also extended invitations to two Deputy Commerce Ministers Dr. Abdul Rahman Al-zamil and Dr. Tawfiq Ibrahim Tawfiq. He was assured that the Saudi ministers would visit Pakistan at the first available opportunity.

During his six-day visit, the

leader of Pakistan delegation discussed ways and means of expanding Pakistan's exports to the kingdom and measures to facilitate the establishment of closer contacts between businessmen of the two countries, besides boosting commercial co-operation.

Mr. Haque also addressed the Pakistani business group in Riyadh and apprised them of the liberal export policies of Pakistan and the incentives and facilities given to the export trade. Measures for quality control, standardisation of products, shipping and expanded export of new items like fresh vegetables were also considered.

In Jeddah Mr. Haque held a meeting with the chamber of commerce and businessmen and discussed measures for increasing the volume of supplies through overcoming some of the shipping problems by increasing the frequency of the existing shipping services and providing refrigerated space for shipment of perishable items from Pakistan which are in greater demand in the market.

In Makkah, Mr. Haque was received by local chamber President Saleh Jamal and other members. Mr. Haque informed Makkah chamber chief that the Federation of Pakistan Chamber of Commerce and Industry would soon invite a delegation of the Makkah chamber to visit Pakistan to expand their trade and economic contact with their Pakistani counterparts.—PPI

the island.

American military officials reported no contact with enemy forces in 24 hours and the announcement of the withdrawal followed the evacuation earlier in the day of 57 wounded Cuban soldiers, who were handed over to the Red Cross in Barbados.

**CUBAN WOUNDED:** The 57 Cubans arrived yesterday in Havana to a hero's welcome by Cuban President Fidel Castro and most of his government.

A Red Cross chartered Swiss jet arrived at Havan's international airport at 21.15 GMT and about 45 of the wounded, waring bandages over their eyes, legs and arms, staggered down the stairway of the plane, looking bemused in the bright afternoon sunlight.

Mr. Castro and Defence Minister Raul Castro shook hands and embraced them as a military band played material music.

Some of the wounded, their clothes in tatters, looked at least 60 years old.

Almost 800 Cuban workers were on the tiny Caribbean island building an airport at the time of the invasion.

Meanwhile, Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden said today that the Australia's delegation to the United Nations apparently ignored instructions from Canberra and voted for a General Assembly resolution that deplored the invasion of Grenada.

Mr. Hayden told of the embarrassment in Parliament here when he said the Australian vote "would appear to be contrary to the instructions issued."—APP/Reuter.

# INCREASE IN EXPORTS TO SAUDI ARABIA REPORTED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 5 Nov 83 p 4

[Article by Farhatullah Babar: "Pakistan's Exports to Saudi Arabia Increase"]

[Text]

Pakistan's exports to the kingdom have increased by over 400 per cent in the past 6 years, claimed the Federal Commerce Secretary Izharul Haq during his visit to the kingdom last week.

Mr. Haq also held meetings with the kingdom's Commerce Minister and other officials and businessmen with a view to expanding trade between the two countries. It is believed that the two sides discussed a bilateral trade agreement providing for a periodic review of trade between the two sides. No decision, however, was taken on the proposed agreement as the Saudis wanted more time to study the draft.

Among other things, the proposed agreement calls for authorising the Saudi Ambassador in Islamabad to take a decision on visa applications by businessmen instead of sending them to officials in Riyadh. Pakistan has also asked Saudi Arabia to increase its rice imports from Pakistan.

Saudi Arabia is Pakistan's second biggest trade partner next only to Japan accounting for 7.4 per cent of Pakistan's total exports last year.

It is, however, not certain whether Pakistan would be able to increase its rice exports to Saudi Arabia. Last year it had to undersell by over 15 million dollars its rice to the Gulf countries because of a decision by the Gulf Co-operation Council states to adopt a collective bargaining approach towards its imports. Saudi Arabia is one of the six members of the Council.

Although the trade between the two countries has increased by 400 per cent during the last six years, it has partly been due to continuing downward slide of Pakistani rupee in relation to Saudi riyal and the U.S. dollar. That is why the balance of trade is still heavily in favour of Saudi Arabia. The two-way trade between the two countries last year stood at one billion dollars with Pakistan's exports to the kingdom accounting for 252 million dollars.

WOMEN'S FORUM DEMANDS ABROGATION OF UNFAIR LAWS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 14 Oct 83 p 6

[Text] KARACHI, Oct. 13--The Women Action Forum has appealed the people of Pakistan to support the restoration of human dignity by resisting all efforts to perpetuate injustice in different forms.

A meeting of the forum held here yesterday at the Karachi Press Club passed a resolution expressing its determination to continue the struggle for the restoration of women's rights till such time that women achieve the rights enunciated in the United Nation's Charter for Human Rights.

The resolution further observed that to achieve this goal, the atmosphere in the country must be conducive to breaking the social and cultural chains of ignorance that bind the women of Pakistan.

It said, "in a democratic set-up, we would be able to concentrate on the real problems facing us instead of having to confront pseudo-issues, artificially created to divert the attention of the entire nation from the burning issues surrounding them."

The resolution also supported the 1973 Constitution, "wherein women are treated at par with men," and said, We expect that the restoration of the Constitution will abrogate all unfair laws like the Huddood Ordinance and the Law of Evidence and will pre-empt the proposed Law of Qisas and Diyat."

The meeting also expressed its solidarity with all those "who have been victimised for exercising their views", and said that freedom of speech was fundamental to the progress of any society. It said the principle of consensus was an essential step towards the removal of all kinds of oppressions.

The meeting was addressed by Begum Mumtaz Noorani, Begum Shaista Ekramulla, Miss Iqbal Sultan, Mrs. Shahida Jamil, Hamid Bahen, Miss Anita Ghualm Ali, and Shahnaz Rahu, president of Sindhiani Tehrik.

CSO: 4600/97

# LAWYERS CONTINUE HUNGER STRIKE, STATE AIMS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 4 Nov 83 p 6

[Text] Lahore, Nov 3--Acting Chairman of Pakistan Lawyers National Coordination Committee Dr Pervaiz Hassan is among the members of the 12th batch of lawyers commencing token hunger strike in the Lahore High Court Bar today. The other two going for the "limited action" for 24 hours are Omer Mahmood Kasuri and Chaudhry Abdul Sattar.

A general meeting of the two city Bars was held in the hunger strikers camp which was addressed, among others, by Malik Mohammad Qasim, Khan Bahadur Khan (Peshawar), Khalid Malik (Baluchistan), and Munir Malik (Karachi), members of the national body of lawyers who have come here to attend the committee meeting.

Malik Mohammad Qasim has praised the lawyers struggle calling it "the movement for national integrity" adding that it was owing to the initiative of the legal fraternity that political parties too had waged the struggle for the democratic rights of the people.

Elaborating the programme of November 12, the last day of the week, Malik Qasim told lawyers that apart from the routine courting of arrests, the MRD workers would hold meetings, take out processions and offer 'ghaibana Namaz-e-Janaza' for the departed souls in Sind and Baluchistan.

Karachi

Our Karachi Bureau adds: Four more lawyers went on hunger strike this morning to press their demands for the restoration of democracy and supremacy of law in the country.

The lawyers who went on hunger strike today include Khan Umar Farooque Khan, Syed Hassan Imam, M. Amjad Iqbal and Shafqat Kamlani.

Meanwhile, Pakistan Lawyers National Coordination Committee have resolved to hold protest meetings and take out processions on Nov 12 and called upon the Bars all over the country to protest and demonstrate as effectively as possible.



The decision of the NCC came through a resolution unanimously adopted by the committee in its six-hour deliberations with Dr Pervaiz Hassan in the chair. Acting Chairman of the National body of lawyers who later told a hurriedly convened Press conference that the committee has arrived at certain other important decisions and evolved a detailed line of action which would be divulged after Nov 12.

The NCC has also resolved to continue the "limited action: of 24-hour token hunger strike initiated from October 23. Dr Pervaiz Hassan talked to newsmen at the hunger strikers camp as he too, was observing the 24-hour fast along with two other lawyers. At the end of the meeting some 15 members of the Lawyers National Body also joined the camp as "a token of expressing solidarity with the national struggle."

According to Dr Hassan hunger strike was being observed at 20 places in the country.

The next meeting of the National Coordination Committee has been called at Karachi on December 8 after which all its members would tour the interior of Sind.

Through other resolutions the national lawyers body took exception to what it called the escalating violence by the administration on lawyers as well as on other communities like students, labourers and condemned sacking of ten senior journalists from the National Press Trust and the hated practice of press advice. It also condemned the alleged "torturing" and "manhandling" of political workers at the time of their courting of arrest and also in police stations. It resented that political workers who were sick in jails were not looked after properly. The meeting deplored keeping Syed Afzal Haider, President, Lahore High Court Bar, in the condemned prisoners cell in Attock jail.

Dr Pervaiz Hassan said that all the energies of the legal fraternity would be concentrated on ensuring acceptance of the resolutions adopted by the "Lawyers Save Pakistan Convention: on October 6 in Lahore adding that unity and solidarity of the country rested on their acceptance. He said that the resolutions demanded lifting of martial law, announcement of a schedule of elections to be held under the constitution and peaceful transfer of power to an elected assembly.

CSO: 4600/125

## MINISTER TALKS ABOUT TOURISM EXPANSION, MORE AIRPORTS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 2 Nov 83 p 8

[Text]

LAHORE, Nov. 1: The government is deeply aware that our airports, in their present shape are not fully equipped to handle the rapidly increasing air traffic. It has, therefore, earmarked Rs. 4 billion for the development of airports in Pakistan during the next five years.

This was stated by Niaz Muhammad Arbab, Federal Minister for culture, sports and tourism while inaugurating the third Pakistan tourism convention held at a local hotel.

The Minister said some of the developments during this period include modernisation and expansion of all the major international airports like Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad, Peshawar and Quetta and construction of new airports in Chilas and Hunza Division. In this phase of development, he said, sufficient facilities have been provided to cater to the needs of the tourists for the next decade.

The Minister said as pointed out by the Secretary tourism the experiment of allowing Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation to import a limited number of vehicles duty free for tourists use had been a great success. Therefore, to provide equal opportunities to private tour operators, the President had indicated that the Ministry of Finance should re-examine the case of grant of a similar concession to them.

Announcing steps for the promotion of tourism in the country, on behalf of the President, the Federal Minister said the year 1984

will be a 'tourism year' in Pakistan.

The Ministry of Tourism and all provincial government should jointly draw up a plan to make 1984 a really successful year from the point of view of tourism. Hotels, motels, recreation centres and roadside facilities, would receive special concessions.

Travel on the Karakoram Highway upto Khunjerab Pass will be permitted more liberally to properly conducted group tours.

The Pakistani tour operator who brings large business to Pakistan during the tourism year 1984 would receive a special award from government.

The Pakistan International Airlines and the Pakistan Railways should examine sympathetically the proposal of offering some concession in fare for personnel in fixed income group and their families.

A special Presidential Award would be given to the artist who produces the best poster depicting the beauty of Pakistan. For this purpose a nation-wide competition should be organised by the Ministry of Tourism, and the result of the competition finalised by November 1984.

Earlier in his address of welcome, Masood Nabi Nur, Secretary, Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism said the present convention was an effort to provide a forum to foreign tour operators.

He said permission to the Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation to import about Rs.

2 million worth of duty-free transport has had a very positive effect resulting in direct, regular and reliable connection with areas of tourist attraction.

APP ADDS: Like the previous conventions, the Minister said, this one too was to be inaugurated by President Ziaul Haq, but he had not been able to attend due to indisposition. The President had however, asked him to convey to the distinguished delegates particularly from foreign lands, his best wishes and greetings.

Mr. Arbab said a committee comprising representatives of all the concerned agencies would examine the proposal regarding 10-year tax holiday in under-developed areas for private investment in tourist accommodation, recreation centres and roadside facilities, alongwith import of duty-free equipment for these facilities.

In her introductory remarks, Begum Viqarun Nisa Noon, Presidential Adviser on Tourism and Chairman, Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation, said while Pakistan was so varied and so fully of unusual and interesting features, our image abroad was either non-existent or completely false, so it was essential that people came here, see Pakistan and spend enjoyable and meaningful holidays.

She said regional tourism was also on the increase, a feature which South Asian countries were happy about and which they wished to encourage by joint promotional efforts.

SHOORA PROCEEDINGS: FINANCE MINISTER TALKS ABOUT THE SIXTH PLAN

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 2 Nov 83 p 8

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Nov. 1: The Federal Finance Minister, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, told the Majlis-e-Shoora here today that the Sixth Plan was continuation of economic stability and prudent fiscal management carried out during the last six years, says APP.

He said that the policy of combining development with stability had brought good results. The Plan would accelerate the balanced development and seek new areas of progress.

The Finance Minister emphasised the need for maintaining economic stability, avoiding resurgence of inflationary pressures and increasing of production and exports. He called for more saving, making productive investment and paying greater attention to backward areas.

Mr. Ghulam Ishaq said that sacrifices were needed for success of any good plan and to achieve this the nation would have to sacrifice immediate gains in consumption for a better future.

The Finance Minister said that Rs. 490 billion was an appropriate allocation for the Plan which when converted into 1982-83 comparable prices was Rs. 399 billion while the implemented Fifth Plan in the same context was Rs. 252 billion.

He said that in a moderately high growth economy like that of Pakistan a five-year plan should endeavour to achieve at least 40 per cent increase in real terms over the previous plan. The target for the Sixth Plan was a 58 per cent increase "to take care of some of the pressing concerns of the nation."

He said that the share of private sector in total investment had been increased from 32 per cent in the Fifth Plan to more than

40 per cent in the Sixth Plan. The public sector has also been enhanced to meet the pressing requirements of the energy and social sectors. Half of this increase would be utilised for accelerating energy development. He pointed out that other 24 per cent of this increase had been allocated to social sectors which in absolute terms had more than tripled.

The Minister pointed out that the Plan aimed at raising domestic savings rate from the present 7 per cent to over 11 per cent and the national saving rate from 12.6 per cent to 16.6 per cent. This implied a marginal saving rate of more than 20 per cent which in Pakistan had been close to 15 per cent.

Mr. Ghulam Ishaq said that the nation must save and invest more and reduce private consumption which averaged 5.3 per cent in 1970-81. This could be attributed partly to high population growth but with a few exceptions it was also the highest among the low income developing countries. The average of saving rates by such states was 21 per cent in 1981.

He stated that a marginal savings rate of 21.8 per cent was achieved during the Second Plan with the active participation of both private and public sectors in the saving and investment process. A marginal saving rate of 20 per cent could be achieved again as the Sixth Plan envisaged an active role for the private sector if "we do not on the way lose sight of the objective of self-reliant growth."

The Finance Minister calling upon the people to curtail their consumption announced that the government had intensified efforts to reduce non-development public expenditure to the barest minimum for increasing public savings. The domestic saving rate was 28 per

cent, 20 per cent and 17 per cent respectively in China, India and Burma.

He said that the government besides implementing the public sector programme would also support investment from the private sector and provide the necessary infra-structure for its active participation. The public sector investment at Rs. 225 billion would require an annual acceleration of 6.8 per cent in real terms in the programme to be financed from the budget.

He said that food, energy and technology constituted foundations of modern development and added "we managed to solve the food problem in the Fifth Plan." A good beginning had also been made for acquiring modern technology but the "energy, however, continues to be the Achilles' heel."

The Finance Minister said that "for the total elimination of the current shortages we have to wait until the Seventh Plan." He said that the energy programmes needed very large capital allocation and an addition to the amount for the Plan would lead to almost total neglect of other important sectors of the economy.

He pointed out that the other needs included basic infra-structure particularly the railways and the road transport. The entire railway system had to be modernised because there had been little expansion of its network since Independence. Certain areas still possessed narrow gauge system and the road network was fast deteriorating for lack of proper maintenance. The new roads were greatly needed to connect growth points with the existing arterial highways.

The Minister said that there was a great need for improving the public services in the rural areas and relieve the growing strains on such utilities in urban areas. These services had to keep pace with the population growth for bringing relief and prosperity to the people.

## PLANNING MINISTER DEFENDS SIXTH PLAN TARGETS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 4 Nov 83 pp 1, 8

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Nov. 3: The Minister for Planning and Development Dr. Mahboobul Haq, while winding up the 12-day debate on the Sixth Five-Year Plan, declared in the Majlis-e-Shoora here today that Pakistan under no circumstances will give up its right to the use of nuclear energy and would not succumb to any pressure of what he described as the nuclear colonisation.

The Minister in his convincing, logical and argumentative speech of more than 70 minutes, punctuated with prolonged applause, announced the government's acceptance of a number of suggestions made by over 100 members taking part in the discussion. He, however, effectively replied to the criticism and elaborated the plan's philosophy, strategy and perception with full command on his subject.

Appreciating the concern shown by some members about the Chashma nuclear power plant, the Minister, raising his voice, declared that the country would not succumb to any pressure regarding this project which, he said, would be completed by the middle of seventh plan. "Peaceful use of atom is our national

right and we do not accept principle of nuclear colonisation", he declared.

The Minister informed the House that in view of importance and economical costs of production of nuclear energy, Pakistan would be preparing another project of nuclear power production, much bigger than the Chashma plant, ready for implementation by the time Chashma was completed.

Accepting about 20 individual proposals he assured the members that other suggestions made by them would be given a serious thought and as there was still a block allocation available to him majority of these suggestions if found within the framework of the plan strategy, would be duly accommodated in the plan. He announced the constitution of a special team of the Planning Commission to review the suggestions on further improvement and implementation of the plan. He said the team would reply to all the members who had made the proposals. He said the suggestions coming even after this session would also be noted and accordingly replied.

Taking note of some members observation that the deregulation measures announced by the government have not been implemented so far and the procedure of obtaining 'P' form for travelling abroad was still continuing the

minister assured the House that steps announced by the Finance Minister in his budget speech would surely be implemented during this year. A New industrial policy, he said, was in final stages and would be announced by next month. This will eliminate a number of problems bringing the one window operation into practice.

Repudiating suggestions that the plan was full of platitudes, he maintained, that it contained concrete projects and schemes. The Plan, he said, aimed at building a self-reliant economy and social order based on the Islamic principle of justice and equity (Adal and Ahsan).

He said the plan fully reflected aspirations of the people for prosperity and social justice and for this purpose the entire nation would have to make concerted efforts and move with confidence to seek its destiny.

Covering at length the points raised by members on various topics the minister fully agreed that implementation of the plan projects must be scrupulously monitored. He disclosed that setting up of a project wing of the Planning Commission had been finalised this month. The provincial planning cells, he said, will also be strengthened, an institute of development management for

the training of managers will be established and a quarterly progress report on the plan will be prepared for submission to the President for immediate removal of any difficulty.

Taking up the proposal of Col. Retd. Mukhtar Hussain regarding setting up of corporation dealing with the agricultural industry and earmarking some areas for agricultural industries he said the proposal was very much valuable and a breakthrough would be made about it.

The Minister mentioned a suggestion of Sahibzada Noorul Hassan about construction of link roads in the rural sector on self help basis. He said the government was ready to cooperate in such schemes if leaders in the rural sector came forward to undertake such projects. He said that the suggestion of Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah about the provision of drinking water in the rural areas, would be given top priority.

Dealing with the proposal of Sheikh Imdad Ahmed about the distribution of the State land among the tenants for cultivation of oil seeds for edible oil, he said that the proposal would be examined and its implementation would be reviewed. As regards the proposals put forth by Syed Babar Ali about giving over transport to the private sector, the minister said he knew the urban population was facing transport problem and assured the House the government had prepared a comprehensive plan for resolving the transport difficulties and a line of action would be adopted for improving the transport system.

APP ADDS: Dr. Mahboobul Haq mentioned a suggestion of Mir Nawaz Khan Marwat that if a student teaches an illiterate person he should be given special marks in his annual examination and that there should be one hour break in the factories for teaching the illiterate workers. The minister said these were good proposals. The Production Minister had issued instructions in the units of his ministry to make arrangements for teaching the workers. He said that the Education Minister had also issued a circular for encouraging the students who were ready to teach illiterate persons.

The minister said that more emphasis was being laid on the setting up of thermal power stations for generating electricity and keeping in view such projects additional amount of 116 million dollars in foreign exchange would be allocated in the plan.

He said that the hydel projects took a lot of time and depended on availability of water and, therefore, some more attention was being paid to the thermal projects so that the industrial projects were speedily executed.

The Planning and Development Minister said after 27 years, a development plan had been presented before the House for a thorough debate. He said 27 years earlier the first plan had been presented before the national assembly. He said some of the members were critical that capitalism was being consolidated though the plan, the others said that the plan had been prepared with a socialist frame of mind. He said some more members pointed out lack of Islamic thinking in evolving the plan while still some others maintained that there was a lot of Islamisation in working out the plan.

He pointed out that his friend Mr. Zain Noorani described him (Mahbubul Haq) as a poet. He said he acknowledged the remarks positively. He said although he was a human man but the very concept of this country was given by a poet. Regarding Indus Super Highway Project, the minister said it was postponed but not abandoned. This project was of tremendous importance in export strategy of the country and would not be given up.

He said the project required investment of about Rs. one thousand crores. At present other priorities like overcoming energy crisis, rehabilitation of existing roads and education etc. were being given due attention. After meeting urgent needs of the nation, the project would be undertaken.

He said in the meantime construction of highway between Peshawar and Dera Ismail Khan was underway which would provide an alternate route and reduce distance between Peshawar and Quetta by 200 kilometers via Zhob.

Referring to concern expressed by members regarding damage to Sukkur barrage, the minister said the barrage commands an area of about 8 million acres. In 1982 its gate number 31 had collapsed which was immediately repaired.

He said the barrage gates were very old and needed repairs or replacement. It has been decided to replace ten gates and strengthen 44 for which a sum of Rs. three and half crores had been provided in the plan.

He appreciated members' concern about the menace of salinity and waterlogging and said sixth plan provided an allocation of Rs. 14 billion against seven billion in fifth plan for reclamation of about fifty three lakh acres of land.

Projects for tackling water-logging and salinity problem would be undertaken in various areas including Faisalabad, Gujrat, Rahimyar Khan, Hyderabad, Sialkot, Sukkur, Khairpur, Dadu, Rohri, Nawabshah, Sanghar, Mirpur, Mardan, Nasirabad, Banaru and Dera Ismail Khan.

On small hydel schemes, the minister informed the Majlis that sixth plan had provided Rs. 200 million for the purpose. These schemes would be implemented in Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir and North West Frontier Province.

He said already ten mini-hydel projects had been completed.

He regretted criticism that mineral sector had been neglected in the plan and said on the contrary the plan provided ten times more allocations for exploitation and development of mineral resources.

Dr. Mahbub said a national mineral policy would be ready in a few months in which private sector would be encouraged to come forward.

He said among other projects, the plan had provided sums for survey and development of uranium resources.

On the provision of health facilities in rural areas, the minister said at present only six per cent strength of doctors were working in villages. The sixth plan aims at increasing this number seven times for which initially persuasion would be attempted.

He disclosed that government was considering proposal for introducing compulsory service for doctors in rural areas next year in case persuasion did not work.

The Minister announced acceptance of suggestion from Shoora members that a National Trust for handicapped be set with the President of Pakistan as its patron.

He said government was taking every step to promote cultural activity and in particular the Islamic culture. In this regard he said projects would be undertaken for construction of an Islamic heritage museum, a hall of Islamic heroes, monuments for freedom fighters, the Quaid-e-Azam museum and a national library.

Aiwan-e-Iqbal would also be completed during the plan.

On deregulation policy, the Planning Minister said all steps announced by Finance Minister in his budget speech in this connection would be implemented during this year.

He said the new industrial policy would also be taken up for this month for detailed consideration.

He repudiated a suggestion that sixth plan was full of platitudes and observed that it contained concrete projects and schemes.

Regarding allocations for development activities in Baluchistan, the minister said it had been raised to 22 billion rupees in the sixth plan which meant about ten per cent of public sector allocations.

He assured the people of Baluchistan that government would take every step to develop the province and added that during his visit to Baluchistan in May last he cleared several projects which had been pending approval for last 15 to twenty years. He said government would fulfil all its responsibilities for the development and progress of Baluchistan province.

He said special attention had also been paid to develop backward areas including Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir, Tharparkar and Cholistan.

The Minister observed poverty is neither provincial nor regional. Resources would be spent wherever needed.

He said Pakistan was one country and all parts of the country were tied together in centuries old bonds of common relations and resources. These bonds would never be broken, he remarked.

# SHOORA CONCLUDES DEBATE ON SIXTH PLAN

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 4 Nov 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Islamabad, Nov 3--The Majlis-e-Shoora concluded its general discussion on the Sixth Five Year Plan today.

Taking part in the debate a member from Jhelum Chaudri Altaf Hussain said that the social conditions in the country could not be improved without an equitable of national resources. He said in a country like us where the 60 percent of the national income is spent on defence, 30 percent on debt servicing, and 4 percent on establishment what social progress we could expect to achieve with a leftover of only 6 percent of the national wealth. He said in Pakistan 2,300 dollars were being spent on one soldier while the per capita expenditure on education and health was five and one dollar respectively.

The gap between the poor and the rich was widening and there was no end to deprivation and exploitation of the people.

Criticising the plan he said it was liberally peppered with platitude, high sounding phrases and maximum rhetoric with a minimum of programme.

Referring to the Planning Chief, Dr Mahboobul Haq he said all men would have judged him worthy of the throne if he had never ascended it.

He said the inequalities prevalent in the society were a man made phenomena. He said it was the system or the economic order of the ruling elites which created social imbalances of poverty. He demanded a ceiling on the minimum holding of lands to save the land from being converted into uneconomical units.

APP adds: Speaking next, Haju Hussain Hazara urged the government to allocate additional funds for agriculture so that vast uncultivated lands were brought under plough in Baluchistan. He demanded that the railway links in Baluchistan should be expanded and railway track between Quetta and Harnai be constructed.



Taking the floor, Maulana Mohammad Hussain Naeemi said that the prices of consumer goods were rising day by day. He said that these factors were detrimental to savings necessary to finance the plan. He said that the goals set forth in the plan to improve the quality of life of the poor could not be achieved if no steps were taken to check the price hike. He said that Rupees 230 crore had been allocated for population programmes while 63 crore on the promotion of culture which he described as Unislamic programmes. He said that no funds have been provided for the promotion of Islamic education or values in the plan.

Chaudri Abdul Sattar said reformation of society should be given priority as true development could not be achieved without it. He said that most of the development funds were not utilised but at least 30 per cent

amount was misappropriated by the people who were responsible for the execution of these projects. He said that the country was spending a substantial amount for the import of edible oil and additional lands should be brought under cultivation to meet this need.

Mr. Ghulam Haider Waizen said government should allocate additional funds for village electrification and construction of link roads in the rural areas and for water supply and sewerage schemes in the urban areas. He also stressed the need for ensuring greater coordination among the concerned government department and agencies.

He said in the past about 90 per cent of funds about housing and Katchi Abadi have been diverted to the rural areas which should now be provided to the rural areas. He also called for the establishment of a vegetable and fruit corporation so that the agriculturists who wanted to export their produce could

be benefited from it. Mr. Z.A. Suleri said that authors of the plan should have mapped out a strategy for fostering national integration and cohesion among the people. He said that parochial tendencies have been raising their heads in the country and it was the responsibility of the planners to give full attention to this aspect in the plan.

Speaking next Syed Siyahud Din Kakakhel said special emphasis should have been laid on the establishment of an Islamic educational system in the country. He regretted that no attention had been given in the plan for imparting religious education and no proposal had been included for the establishment of a religious institution in the country. He said government should have given proper attention to this aspect so that true muslims could be prepared in the country.

Speaking next, Mr. M.P. Bhandara lauded the efforts of the government for achieving self sufficiency in food. He said that Pakistan hoped to meet the target fixed in the sixth five year plan.

He said tremendous progress had been made in Baluchistan and a record amount had been provided in the annual development programme 1982-83. He said that the ratio of literacy and standard of life of people would be considerably increased at the end of plan. He also called for promoting afforestation for improving environmental conditions and meeting the growing demands of fuel wood.

Haji Ali Akbar Rind from Baluchistan said the water dam in Mekran Division should be completed. He said that facilities of electricity, education telephone and roads in the area should be provided to the village population. He said the people had to face drinking water problem which should be resolved without delay. He said medical facilities were non-existent which should be provided to the people.



## PPP ROLE IN MRD ASSESSED; MODERATION URGED

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 8 Oct 83 pp 9, 12

/Report by Mohammad Ali: "Role of Moderate Leaders in the People's Party"/

/Text/ On 14 August, when the MRD /Movement for the Restoration of Democracy/ began the civil disobedience movement, it was not expected that with the exception of a few districts this movement would turn to full-fledged violence and that the defunct People's Party /PPP/ would be successful in its efforts to initiate full-scale agitation in the interior of Sind. But now the situation has crystallized and the PPP does not appear to be aware of the logical outcome of this activity. One reason for this outcome is that despite the demonstration of wide-scale force in a few districts of Sind, the civil disobedience movement has failed to make itself felt on a province-wide basis and its circle of influence seems to be restricted. Another reason may be that MRD has not gained the political acceptance in other provinces that is deemed necessary for its demands to be acceptable to the government. These are the facts on the basis of which moderate political leaders in the defunct PPP have decided to adopt a policy of understanding and reconciliation. But at this stage, it cannot be said with certainty whether this group, which is a victim of political ambiguity, will succeed in having its political stand endorsed by the party rank and file, because it must be borne in mind that any political decision can affect the group's political future.

Since the civil disobedience movement began, the only group that has managed to hold its ground has been the faction led by Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, who, due to his inflexible stand, has succeeded in coming to the forefront along with the other detained politicians. It is being said about him that he does not favor talks with the government before the MRD's four-point program has been accepted. But the most important person in this group, Makhdoum Mohammad Zaman Talib-ul Maula, has stressed the great importance of holding discussions with the government. And his continued insistence on discussions in the prevailing political atmosphere in Sind clearly goes to prove that the moderate group in the defunct PPP is against confrontation. This group has come to believe that if the present activity based on agitation continues in the interior of Sind, then the PPP itself will not be able to control this movement and conditions will soon deteriorate into anarchy. But another point worth considering is that the group led by Mumtaz Ali Bhutto has been against any conciliation with the government right from the start. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto also has the full support of

Hafeez Pirzada, who, despite being the author of the 1973 constitution, has been holding discussions with Baluchi leaders on the question of "provincial autonomy" from his seat in London. His brother, Mujib Pirzada, legal adviser to Benazir Bhutto, has put forth a proposal for elections for a new constituent assembly. This group has made confederation and the rights and privileges of the provinces the focus of its policy, whereas Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi's group has declared restoration of the 1973 constitution the political basis of its struggle and has won the full support of Benazir Bhutto straight away, without the slightest effort. It is Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi's group that has played an important and active role in the civil disobedience movement. Whatever the causes of the active participation of this group in the civil disobedience movement, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi has won for himself a key position in Sind politics today. But in no way does he appear to be willing to hold talks with the government and because of the crisis created between the government and the political forces due to the loss of confidence, he does not wish to take the political risk that this might involve. But if Makhdoum Mohammad Zaman Talib-ul Maula were to maintain his position concerning a conciliatory move, then he could bring the government and the defunct PPP together to the negotiating table. But a new change has been brought about in Sind politics as a result of close contacts between Baluchi politicians and the PPP leaders in Sind. Before the civil disobedience movement began, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto met in London with Ataullah Mengal and Khair Bakhsh Marri. Hafeez Pirzada's detailed discussions with politicians residing in London and adoption of a common position on the question of provincial autonomy give rise to new political possibilities. Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, leader of the defunct Pakistan National Party /PNP/, has been showing a keen interest in Sind politics and his party is actively participating in MRD's civil disobedience movement. In the discussions held between Akbar Bugti and G. M. Sayed, much more importance was given to reaching an accord on a common policy to be adopted during future events than on the political conditions presently prevailing in the country. G. M. Sayed believes that MRD's present "Save Pakistan Movement" will become one of ending Pakistan, and at that stage they will actively participate in it. From the discussions held between Akbar Bugti and G. M. Sayed, it appears that the threat of an armed clash between the Baluchi students residing in Sind and the Jiye Sind Students Federation has been averted. This situation arose in the Larkana Chandka Medical College after a confrontation between the Baluchi Students Organization and Jiye Sind Students Federation in which Ishtiaq Hussein Talpur, a leader of the Jiye Sind Students Federation, was killed. Shah Mohammad Shah, former vice president of the Jiye Sind Students Federation, and Qamar Raja are provincial officeholders in Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo's party in Sind. Shah Mohammad Shah is the senior vice president of the PNP. Similarly, Yusuf Jhokrani, president of the National Democratic Party in Sind, at one time belonged to the Jiye Sind Students Federation. Since the blockade of the village of New Jatoi ended, the present leadership of the defunct PPP has been analyzing the political situation. It looks on the interest shown by the world media in the situation in Sind as a source of encouragement for its existence. But the real problem is that all groups consider talks with the government as their political death because of the fear of internal differences arising within the party. One of the elements in this case is uncertainty and lack of mutual confidence, because they see their own political death spelt out in the possibility of the failure of the talks. Under the present circumstances, the initiation of talks appears impossible without the approval of the Baluchi

leadership. Because of the inactivity of the civil disobedience movement in the Punjab, the defunct PPP is inclined to give more importance to closer cooperation with the political forces in Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province. Then again, confinement of the present civil disobedience movement to Sind Province has brought to the fore the regional nature of the PPP, and in an effort to maintain its identity, it is now making the ancient demand on the politicians of Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province for provincial autonomy in its fundamental political form. Now the leadership of the defunct PPP is finding it difficult to make political decisions, because with the passage of time the effects of the civil disobedience movement are wearing thin and in its place acts of violence and subversion appear to be spreading in the interior of Sind. It would not be amiss if we say that in this movement to restore democracy some elements have become involved who would like to entangle the entire society in its activities of lawlessness and whose sole aim is to bring law and order to an end, thus making pillage and devastation a matter of everyday life on our national highways. Robbers and criminals dressed in police uniforms have been firing on highway traffic and spreading fear and terror. The disruption of traffic on our national highways could cause irreparable damage to the national economy and if lawlessness thus prevails, it will bring problems in transportation and communications. Following the escape of 102 prisoners from the Dadu District jail, prisoners from the Moro subjail also made good their escape. The interesting part of the whole affair is that the jailer in charge of the Moro subjail, Ghulam Haidar, head constable Mohammad Ayub Joyo and police constables Nangar Hayat, Qasim Shah, Allah Rakhio and Noor Ali have all been arrested and charged in the escape of the prisoners. This clearly indicates that by joining the MRD's civil disobedience movement, criminals are spreading fear and terror. Incidents involving firing on trains and airplanes and subverting the waterways systems appear to be the results of a well-organized plan. A group of armed terrorists attacked Panchmoro near new Saeedabad on the national highway on 24 August. If strong action is not taken against such attacks, and if political parties do not discourage such incidents, then the situation will worsen. Armed terrorists used sten guns and rifles to fire on an oil tanker, No FDC 3888, traveling from Lahore to Karachi. The driver of the tanker, which contained 91,000 liters of spirit, acted cautiously, stopping the tanker. The terrorists continued to fire on the tanker, as a result of which it was reduced to ashes. The driver of the tanker, Mohammad Latif Aawan, son of Karam Dad Aawan, belongs to Gujrat. He said the terrorists in their attempt to stop the tanker first fired on the tires, and he was forced to stop. A truck, No 847-055, overturned as a result of being fired on and the driver, Akbar Khan, was injured. Similarly, another truck was fired on 25 September on Bharya Road and its driver injured. The position taken by the government with respect to these incidents in Sind right from the beginning has been that civil disobedience is purely a matter connected with peace and tranquility and cannot be considered as political disturbances. If pillage and robbery continue to take place in the name of the MDR, then the government's position will gain recognition and support and political parties capable of putting political pressure on the government on a national scale will not be able to support this movement much longer. The PPP, recognizing the seriousness of the prevailing conditions, should therefore reassess the situation. As far as the restoration of democracy is concerned, the current disturbances in Sind have confirmed the need to establish a nationally elected government and now no power can obstruct

the restoration of democracy for long. But if this movement to restore democracy is limited in the interior of Sind to pillage and lawlessness, then strong administrative action will become inevitable. If the situation continues to worsen, then political forces will be in no position to have their demands accepted by the government through negotiations. To be able to resolve the current political crisis, it is necessary to build a bridge of confidence and trust which is lacking between the government and the political parties arrayed against the government. If an atmosphere of confrontation is maintained in hopes of winning the war for leadership in a party, no positive results will be achieved. Rapidly occurring incidents in Sind are changing into suppositions and predictions with the speed of lightning. If despite all these incidents, authority and politics are to be made the basis of egoism and leadership is handed over to elements engaged in terrorism and lawlessness, then the future will be far worse. This is a moment of testing for the moderates within the defunct PPP. Continuous confrontation and violence will not benefit anyone and neither can a policy of uncertainty rescue them from the current crisis. Makhdoun Mohammad Zaman Talib-ul Maula, who has been stressing the importance of negotiations with the government, has no political designs or ambitions for the future. If he were to contact the opposing factions to hold negotiations, then the action taken by him for the sake of the nation and the country would forever be engraved in letters of gold.

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## POLITICAL FORMULA OFFERED BY LEADER SAID ADDING TO CONFUSION

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 5 Nov 83 p 4

[Editorial by Khalid Akhtar: "Qayyum Formula Adding to Confusion?"]

[Text]

With the passage of time, transfer of power is becoming a more and more difficult proposition. At one stage the solution looked so simple; elections, rebirth of assemblies and power back into the hands of people's representatives. But all this has now changed. Elections still remain the only solution to the crisis. But where is the modus operandi that will take the nation to the polls. A similar thing happened to us in 1969 when political vacuum had rendered fruitless the quest for consensus on holding of elections. That was Ayub Khan-Awami league confrontation which had made an accord impossible. Now it is the hostility between the regime and the defunct PPP which remains a major hurdle in the quest for a political settlement.

Maulana Noorani's mediation role remained confined to seeking a solution to the crisis. His was a straight approach suggesting accepted remedies to recognized issues. Unlike Sardar Qayyum his formula did not contain a safety valve for anyone. But the AJKC Chief has moved the other way around. He has come up with a formula which primarily aims at ensuring that the future political government 'behaves' and that it does not call into question any act that took place after July 5, 1977. In short,

he envisages controlled democracy to begin with, a concept already rejected by the majority of the politicians. It appears that the Kashmiri leader seeks solution in parts and in pieces; an approach which is hardly expected to curry favour with the majority of political parties.

It is not for the first time that Sardar Qayyum has appeared on the scene with a solution in hand to defuse a crisis. During PNA's agitation he admirably played the mediatory role and his efforts very nearly averted the breakdown of constitutional rule. But since then things have drastically changed. The credibility gap between the government and politicians has touched its lowest level. While the PPP has throughout remained at the receiving end, PNA leaders in a way have suffered more badly. They had supported the present regime and for a while become a part of it in their bid to bring back democracy in unison with the Martial Law authorities. But their venture ended in a disaster and they left ministries with democracy receding still far back into the background and their political image badly tarnished. Now their leaders, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan and Air Marshal (Retd) Asghar Khan have been under detention for the last four years. With their fingers already burnt it is difficult to conceive that they would agree to any piecemeal solution as the AJKC chief thinks.

Now we come to the oft-repeated proposal that keeping a particular party or bunch of people out of the electoral process will help in finding a solution of the crisis. Some time back a PPP leader also reportedly made an offer that the

People's Party in the first phase of transition of power from the Army to civilian rule would remain away from the corridors of power. This may appear to be a good gesture but gestures alone are not enough to untangle political tangles. Hard political realities cannot be set aside or ignored. It is inconceivable that a large party like the PPP or leaders with any reckoning could be kept away from any arrangement or they could isolate themselves from national politics. Any such solution, even if it may be of ad hoc nature, will only aggravate the situation. Forced self-exiles in politics always bring out extreme repercussions.

Sardar Qayyum's third proposal is regarding setting up of a provisional government for holding the polls. He says that Gen. Zia should remain the President but the Chief Executive, preferably a politician, should be appointed with consensus, but if this was not acceptable to the regime, Gen. Zia could appoint the Chief Executive from among his own colleagues from a Province other than the Punjab. Now it is said that Wali Khan and Mustafa Jatoi were both offered the office of Prime Minister. If they did not accept the august office then, they or any of their colleagues are least likely to take up the responsibility when times are becoming more difficult. And if the Chief Executive is also from the Army the change will hardly be a qualitative and substantial one to be acceptable to the politicians. More complications will if this happens. With President Zia

being the Chief of Staff and CMLA, he will remain the final arbiter no matter who among his colleagues becomes the chief executive.

The long statement which Sardar Qayyum gave to the Press recently conveyed the impression that he had not come out with the formula overnight. His conversations with Gen. Zia and PNA leaders as he has quoted them, point to the fact that he was thinking on the lines since long. Some parts of his formula, particularly the last one, seems to have developed in the immediate past. Now the crucial questions is why he joined the MRD. Then whose approach to the whole issue was radically different. Was he torn between the two responses to the Martial Law rule? His quitting of the MRD was no less surprising. He left the MRD the way he entered. No explanation, no justification was given for either action.

We may soon find Sardar Sahib launching his campaign to gather support for his formula. He has said that besides others he would also meet the MRD leaders including Air Marshal Asghar Khan, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, and Sherbaz Mazari. His meetings with MRD leaders would be interesting. It will require a lot on the part of the two to understand each other. Mr. Qayyum's sudden parting with the MRD, and that too at a critical juncture, had left behind a bitter taste. How the AJKC Chief hopes to rebuild confi-

dence remains to be seen.

Now what are the chances of the new formula. We do need a consensus on vital issues before polls are held. However, bitter past may be for some, the nation's interest demands that the future political government should not tread the path of vengeance. Neither are there two opinions that a tussle between the left and right must ease. We should follow the LIVE AND LET LIVE principle. The two should not condemn each other as they are doing now. But this could only be the part of an accord. We are striving to hammer out but are finding no meeting ground to build up the edifice. Sardar Sahib's formula is for polls on party basis, a popular demand and this is one big plus point in it. But it has its own flaws, the most striking being that whereas it has endeavoured to remove all apprehensions of one party (Martial Law Government), it contains no provision to instil confidence in the politicians. Finally coming at a time when President Zia is holding dialogue with leaders and the next announcement on the issue not far off (it is probably to be made next month), Sardar Qayyum's move could easily be misunderstood. Some circles have already started attaching different motives and giving varied interpretations to his initiative. It will be a sad thing if the move distracts attention from the real issue and ends up by adding to the confusion which has affected the country.

CSO: 4600/125

NON-PARTY ELECTIONS OPPOSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 5 Nov 83 p 8

[Text]

LAHORE, Nov. 4: The outlawed political parties continue to oppose holding of general elections on non-party basis on the ground that it would entail a new political and constitutional crisis which will lead the country further away from the objective of peaceful transfer of power.

The defunct Pakistan People's Party has issued what is said to be a policy statement regarding the issue which has opposed election without the participation of political parties contending the assembly thus coming will compromise members having returned on their personal influence, wealth and bradari rather than any declared manifesto. The assembly as such could not be expected to discharge its duties according to national aspirations, rather its members would all the time pursue their personal interests.

Issuing the policy statement M.S. Baqir, acting Secretary General of the defunct PPP Punjab said that holding of elections on non-party basis would entail a new political and constitutional crisis which would shake the very foundations of the country. He said that it was first experienced in 1962 and was eventually rejected by the people since its ills were exposed to them in very short time. He opined that events of 1971 were the direct results of the

adventurous policies of the preceding two martial law regimes.

The Secretary General of the Punjab PPP apprehended that such a course would be "deepest chaos". He said that the regime should draw proper conclusions of its announcement of August 12 and asserted that the entire nation has rejected the political structure.

He charged the government with playing on the nerves of the masses and asserted that instead of resolving issues the regime seems to have evolved a policy of keeping people in a state of utter confusion.

He reiterated the demands of the 9 party opposition alliance contained in its 4 point charter adding that the entire nation was unanimous on lifting of martial law, restoration of the 1973 Constitution fair and free elections thereunder and transfer of power of peoples representatives.

General Secretary Lahore Branch of defunct Pakistan National Party Mohammad Hanif Goraya described as mere deceit the elections if held on non-Party basis since genuine political parties have already announced their boycott. He quoted the Father of the Nation while addressing the first session of the constituent assembly on August 11 and said that the Quaid as well as the internationally established principles were for one man one vote adding that this way only real democracy could be brought back in the country.



UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG COLLEGE-EDUCATED: FIGURES FOR PUNJAB CITED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 14 Oct 83 p 6

[Text] LAHORE, oct. 13--At least 150,000 graduates are without jobs in Punjab out of which only 7,000 are formally registered with the employment exchanges.

This was disclosed in a Press conference held here on Tuesday by the Pakistan Unemployed Association.

Association Chairman Zubair Choudhry estimated the total number of the educated unemployed in the country at 3.5 million. He said government had planned to create employment for 4.5 million people in the Sixth Five-Year Plan, but now, he said, this plan was being cut, and the Federal Labour Minister was refusing to give it a top priority in the labour policy.

He said his association had many fruitless meetings with the Minister. He demanded the immediate announcement of the labour policy.

He declared that if the government did not pay attention to this acute problem, his organisation would launch a limited company selling shares for Rs. 100 each and establish a factory for the unemployed.

He said what Pakistan needed was an industrial revolution.

Expression concern over the Sind situation, he said one major reason for the present crisis was the high rate of unemployment in Sind.

CSO: 4600/97



UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG DOCTORS, INADEQUATE TRAINING FACILITIES DISCUSSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 25 Oct 83 p 4

[Editorial: "The Mess in Medical Education"]

[Text] THOUSANDS of doctors are unemployed in Pakistan while the millions in the countryside have hardly any medical facilities. While the 16 medical colleges in the country produce about 4,000 doctors annually, the number of posts for doctors in the rural areas, which form 70 per cent of the population, is only 1,000 compared to 6,000 in the urban areas, says the sixth five-year plan.

The young doctors who are employed are protesting against low salaries and other facilities while the poor patients in the cities are complaining of the rising fees of doctors and the high cost of medicine. Unemployed doctors seek bank loans to open their own clinics, but for want of solid collateral as demanded by the existing rigid banking laws they cannot get funds.

While surgeons at a meeting on Friday in Karachi protested against the inadequacy of facilities for postgraduate medical education in Pakistan, the facilities available in the existing medical colleges for degree courses are too small, particularly in the new colleges after their total number took a leap from seven to 16 ten years ago. "The standard of education has gone down since there are not enough class rooms, laboratory facilities and teaching equipment. Also there is a shortage of 8,000 teaching hospital beds," laments the Planning Commission.

The surgeons are right in calling for adequate facilities for post-graduate medical courses and for training specialists. Such facilities would certainly reduce the need for young doctors to go abroad at a high cost for higher education. The country also loses some of these specialists as they do not want to return home. But there is absolute unanimity among the senior doctors that the quality of medical education must not be lowered. Evidently higher quality medical education can be ensured only if the degree courses have the right standards and there is sustained emphasis on quality education. The doctors have suggested that to overcome the shortage of 8,000 hospital beds for training medical students private hospitals, too, should be used. This is undoubtedly the right suggestion. It is infinitely better to make use of all the facilities available in the country for training young doctors than having half-baked medical graduates for want of enough beds in government hospitals.

Dr. Z. H. Kazi has deplored the prevailing standard of post-graduate medical education in the country by saying that even after performing several operations the students do not learn much as they were not pure post-graduate students, and they do not read as much as they are expected to do. This is a basic problem in the entire educational system in the country. Medical students, too, do not want to learn much during their MBBS courses, and instead agitate for lowering of standards and slashing of pass marks. Of course, they are helped in this by the inadequate facilities available in many of them. Once such lowering of standards begins in the medical colleges post-graduate teaching, too, is vitiated. Hence the restrictions on Pakistani doctors practising in Western countries are increasing. Medical students and those who seek post-graduate courses have now to be ready to strain a great deal and the government has to offer far more facilities than are available to them. Poor medical education, ill qualified doctors and indifferent treatment can cause too many tragedies, and they have to be avoided through diligent efforts all round.

CSO: 4600/97

## BRIEFS

SHARIAT COURT ON JOB DISMISSAL--Islamabad, Nov 4--The Federal Shariat Court has declared arbitrary removal from service as repugnant to Shariah. The court examined Civil Servants Act 1973 in the light of Shariah and gave its judgement on it. The judgement written by Chief Justice Aftab Hussain provides protection and safeguard against arbitrary premature retirement, removal or dismissal to all civil servants. The judgement said "removal of a government servant merely on the basis of his personal likes or dislikes is too arbitrary a test to deprive a person of the means of his livelihood and to deprive the nation of his talent and experience. Equality before law and equal protection of law are the fundamental principles of Islam." The judgement said, "Section 13(1) and (11) of the law is repugnant to the Quranic principles of equality before law and equal protection before law. It shall be repealed." The court consisted of Chief Justice Aftab Hussain, Justice Ali Hussain Qazilbash, Justice Chaudhry Muhammad Siddiq and Justice Maulana Ghulam Ali.--APP [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 5 Nov 83 p 1]

OMAR ASGHAR SUBMITS REPLY--Lahore, Nov 4--Omar Asghar Khan, a teacher of Economics at the University of Punjab, today submitted his reply in answer to a show cause notice issued by the administration in which he was blamed for instigating students at workers procession on Oct 26. Two other teachers were also served notices on different charges. They are Mahdi Hassan of Journalism and Mr Sohail of Haily College of Commerce. Mr Omer, in his statement besides challenging the legality of the notice, has invoked article 4 of the Constitution of Pakistan which guarantees "right of individuals to be dealt in accordance with law." While categorically denying the charges as totally false, fabricated and baseless allegations, Omer Asghar said, "This show cause notice is yet another link in the chain of harassment instituted against me by the University authorities at the instigation of elements interested in harassing me on account of my relationship with Air Marshal (Retd) Asghar Khan, who is my father. Victimisation is also being done on account of the memorandum I submitted in respect of the serious irregularities in respect of students admission in the university." [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 5 Nov 83 p 6]

PNP CONDEMNS MIAN TUFAIL--Quetta, Nov 4--Baluchistan branch of the Pakistan National Party has accused the Amir of the Jamaat-e-Islami, Mian Tufail, of making misleading statements of the current political situation in the country. In a statement issued here on Wednesday under the signature of Haji

Khushdil Khan, Jamadar Huzoor Bux and Haji Jumma Khan Baluch, the party said Mian Tufail had held the PNP responsible for a political murder in Turbat without verification. The statement said it does not behoove the stature of the leader of a political party to make baseless allegations. The statement also demanded immediate treatment for detained PNP leader Rafique Khoso.--PPI [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 5 Nov 83 p 8]

TELEPHONE POLES IN SIND DAMAGED--Hyderabad, Nov 4--Some unknown men have damaged about 45 telephone poles and have cut off telephone wires in 5 miles radius at Tando Jam near Hyderabad, disturbing the telephone system between Hyderabad, Tando Jam, Tando Allhyar and Mirpurkhas. Police said that neither any footprints nor any vehicles wheels signs are available around the telephone poles and this incident has become a mystery. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 5 Nov 83 p 8]

CONCERN OVER UNIVERSITY CLOSING--Peshawar, Nov 1--The Students Action Council has expressed concern over the continued closure of the Peshawar University and other educational institutions and called for their immediate reopening. The Council comprising four student organisations, also demanded that the ban on the student unions should be lifted, restrictions withdrawn and that the admission of all rusticated students be restored. It further condemned the Government action against the lawyers in Lahore and Bolan Medical College Quetta, the arrest of the daily Haider's Editor and use of force against the people of Sind. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 2 Nov 83 p 6]

LAWYERS CONTINUE HUNGER STRIKE--Karachi, Nov 1--The fourth batch of four lawyers went on hunger strike here today. The lawyers included Mahmudul Hassan, Rana Safdar, Nahid Arzal and Mehrban Khan Niazi. It may be noted that the lawyers have started going on token hunger strike in batches of four since Saturday last to press for the release of their fellowmen arrested in Karachi and Lahore. Since then no day has been missed. Every day at 10 a.m. amid the slogan-chanting lawyers, a new batch takes over from the previous ones and goes on hunger strike. The visitors from trade union organisations, students and political workers come to congratulate them and record their impressions in the 'visitors book,' which is now almost filled. A truck of police also remains posted on the entrance to the courts. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 2 Nov 83 p 8]

ALLOCATIONS FOR WOMEN'S PROGRAMS--ISLAMABAD, Oct. 26--A financial allocation of Rs. 800 million has been earmarked for development of Women's Programme in the Sixth Five-Year Plan. This was stated here this evening by the Federal Minister for Development and Planning Dr. Mahbubul Haq, while briefing the lady members of the Majlis-e-Shura at a meeting held at the Planning Commission. The meeting was held to acquaint the lady members of the women development programmes in the country as envisaged in the Sixth Five-Year Plan and government's steps to accelerate its efforts in this connection. The meeting was also attended by Begum Salima R. Ahmad, Secretary Women Division and high officials of the division. Later, Begum Salima R. Ahmad Secretary of the Women Division briefed the lady members of the programmes of her division in welfare of women. The meeting was attended by Mrs. Mahmooda Sultana, Begum Sabiha Skhakil, Dr. Aameena Ashraf, Begum Salma Tassdduq Mrs. Masud Sadiq, Begum Bilqis Shahbaz, Begum Razia Azizuddin and other lady members of the Majlis-e-Shura. [Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 27 Oct 83 p 10]

END